

THE AMERICAN REVIEW OF REVIEWS

EDITED BY ALBERT SHAW

CONTENTS FOR APRIL, 1923

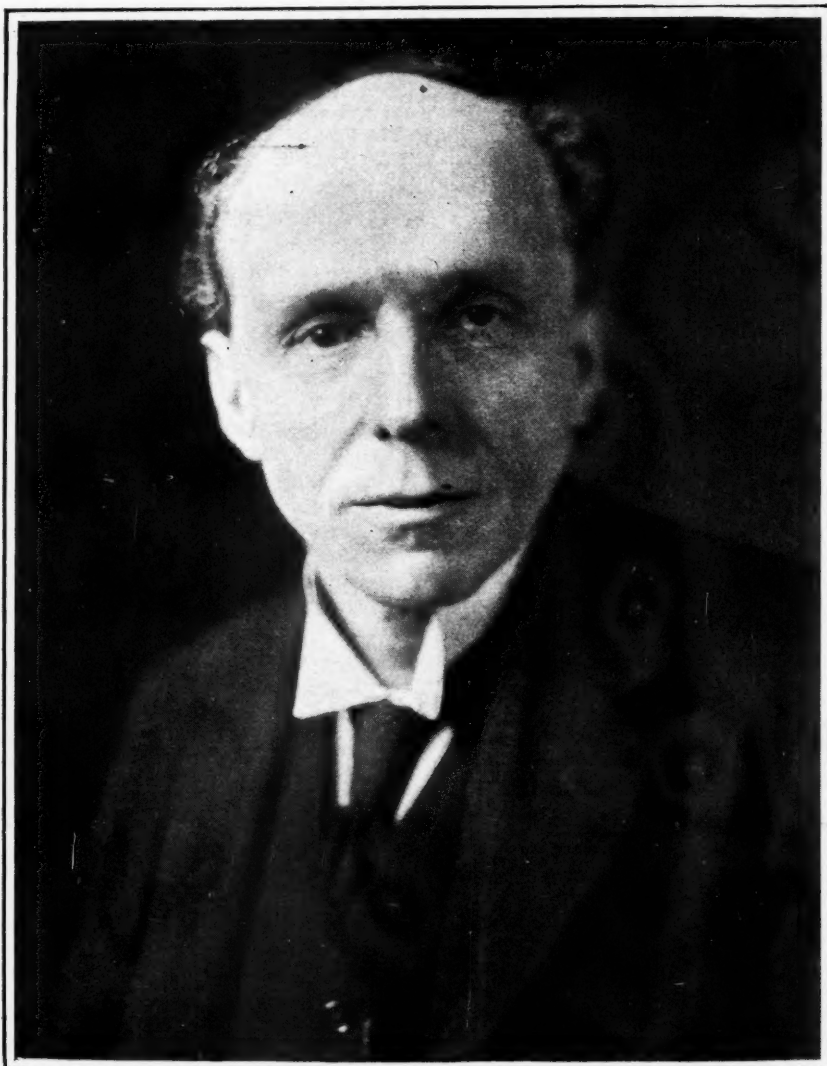
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TERMS:—Issued monthly, 35 cents a number, \$4.00 a year in advance in the United States and Canada. Elsewhere \$5.00. Entered at New York Post-office as second-class matter. Entered as second-class matter at the Post-office Department, Ottawa, Canada. Subscribers may remit to us by post-office or express money orders, or by bank checks, drafts, or registered letters. Money in letters is sent at sender's risk. Renewal as early as possible in order to avoid a break in the receipt of the numbers. Bookdealers, Postmasters and Newsdealers receive subscriptions.

THE REVIEW OF REVIEWS CORP., 30 Irving Place, New York

Pacific Coast Office, 327 Van Nuys Bldg., Los Angeles, Calif.

ALBERT SHAW, Pres. CHAS. D. LANIER, Sec. and Treas.



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THE RIGHT HON. LORD ROBERT CECIL, INTERNATIONAL STATESMAN

(Among living Englishmen active in the higher spheres of politics, no one could be a more welcome visitor in the United States at this time than Lord Robert Cecil. The Foreign Policy Association had invited him, and he responded willingly. He is the foremost British supporter of the League of Nations, and he comes quite prepared to speak on the present work and future prospects of the League; but he has not come to criticize America's failure to join the League. Furthermore, he is one among many Englishmen who understand present French policies and who realize that it is security rather than debt-collection that impels France. Lord Robert is the third son of the late Marquis of Salisbury, and is in his fifty-ninth year. He was educated at Eton and Oxford, was called to the Bar at twenty-three, and has been a member of Parliament for the past seventeen years. He was connected with the Foreign Office during the war period and was also Minister of Blockade. He was one of the most prominent members of the Paris Peace Conference and since then has been active in the Council of the League of Nations. He enjoys the full confidence of the British people, who expect that some day he will be Prime Minister)

THE AMERICAN REVIEW OF REVIEWS

VOL. LXVII

NEW YORK, APRIL, 1923

No. 4

THE PROGRESS OF THE WORLD

A Congress in Retrospect

The Sixty-seventh Congress, which ended its industrious career on the fourth of March, owed its large Republican predominance to the tidal wave in the fall of 1920 that elected President Harding by so remarkable a majority of votes. The metropolitan press was inclined last month, in its obituary comments, to treat the defunct Congress with somewhat sweeping disparagement. If it was not as good as it ought to have been, at least it might have been much worse, and it owed no apologies to its immediate predecessors. A body as large as the House of Representatives needs wise, able, and brilliant leadership if it is to gain a strong hold upon the public mind. Average excellence makes too little impression. It is marked personality that seizes attention. The careful and intelligent work that goes on in many of the committees is appreciated by few people away from the Capitol Hill. In the Senate, a few individuals who pose and talk catch the fancy of the headline writers; and most readers of the daily newspapers get their ideas of legislative affairs at Washington altogether from headlines.

The Public Is Not Informed

Sweeping assertions are seldom valuable, and it would not be wholly correct to say that Senators during the past two years have been really useful to the country in inverse ratio to the publicity they have received. But it would be true to say that publicity has not borne much relation to merit. This is due on the one hand to sensational tendencies in journalism, and on the other to the fact that readers are superficial. In earlier periods, newspapers were much more political in their character than at present. In those days, except for an oc-

casional prize fight or horse race, there was no sporting news in the daily press. But nowadays the sport pages alone occupy more space regularly than the political affairs of nation, State, and city, all put together. The financial and business pages are vastly more elaborate than political and governmental news. The theaters, and other so-called amusement interests, are also accorded more attention than the affairs of the country. Many newspapers give more space by far to comic pictures that introduce the same characters in unending series than they give to all the doings of all governments, foreign and domestic. This is not remarked by way of finding fault with the newspapers. It is intended rather to help the reader understand how it happens that public opinion, in relation to the affairs of Congress, drifts so easily from indifference and neglect to impatience and disparagement.

Citizens Should be Trained

There are many men in Congress who are very able and also highly conscientious. The greater part of the legislative business accomplished at Washington is non-partisan, Republicans and Democrats working together harmoniously in committees. Far more attention should be given in our high schools and colleges to public affairs, local and national. A careful study of the appropriation bills passed in the recent session of Congress, with a competent teacher to guide the students, would have educational results of almost inestimable value. When readers are trained to demand public news, the press will supply the need. If the Budget as recently presented to Congress were examined in detail, and studied in association with the appropriation bills as actually passed, the government of the

country in all of its activities would take on a definite character for the young citizen. Such study would do much toward fitting him for his future responsibilities.

*Congress has
Supported
Economy*

It is to the credit of the Sixty-seventh Congress that it responded to President Harding's urgent demand, and enacted the existing law under which the budget system has gone into effect with results already so important. It has brought about economies that bulk large in the total. Governmental business had expanded enormously during the war years, and the budget system has been of marked advantage in the process of deflation. The total number of government employees has been reduced by about 100,000. The late Congress added a few millions to the River and Harbor bill by the old-fashioned log-rolling process; but otherwise it followed closely the estimates and recommendations of the budget as sent in by President Harding. This does not mean that Congress neglected its obligation to consider appropriations carefully. What it does mean is that Congress was willing to work with the executive branch of the government in adapting ends to means. There is nothing sensational about this phase of the work of the Sixty-seventh Congress, but it is a meritorious record and ought not to be forgotten. There might well have been larger modifications of the war system of taxation, but at least the recent Congress improved the system in some respects.

*Business
Accepts the
New Tariff*

The revision of the tariff was accomplished under difficult circumstances because of rapid fluctuations in prices and markets following the war. The most bitter critics of the new tariff would seem to have been those who have had least to do with it. Those engaged in one way or another with foreign trade have adapted themselves to the new schedules, and the flow of imports has not been perceptibly retarded. Meanwhile the revenues of the government from customs dues are decidedly increased. This is not said in praise of the tariff policy, but in deference to facts. The most urgent domestic condition with which the last Congress had to deal was the agricultural crisis. There are some things that laws cannot accomplish; and the government at Washington could not create vast consum-

ing markets, nor could it long support prices at artificial levels. In the main, agriculture, like every other industry, must rest upon its own basis. If men choose to go to new regions like the Canadian Northwest and raise wheat, they are not justified in holding that it is the paramount duty of national governments to make their venture profitable. Our pioneers who settled the country took no such view. They made their local communities as self-supporting as possible.

*Tempering
Adversity
for Farmers*

But government can recognize emergencies, and can help in averting sweeping disaster in critical times. Thus a few years ago our government created a new system of currency and credit under the Federal Reserve Board, which saved the banks and general business from a crash when the European war broke out. There ought to have been foresight enough to have protected the agricultural interests of the country from the terrible results of the sudden post-war drop in prices that reduced the income of the grain-grower, the cattle-feeder, and the cotton-raiser by more than half, while freight bills were doubled and general expenses maintained at the war-time levels. But the harm having been done, it was at least possible so to reconstruct the credit system of the country as to give the farmer a much longer time during which to work off his debts and recover from his losses. The measures taken in the last Congress for agricultural relief have, therefore, not done anything to give the farmer better crops or better prices. They have not made him gifts of any kind, nor have they advanced funds without security. They have merely provided methods by which the farming communities may act cooperatively in larger business units, and draw to themselves larger quantities of the country's investing capital than had been possible under the old plan of borrowing money haphazard on mortgage.

*The
Deferred
Bonus Issue*

Perhaps the least praiseworthy performance of the Sixty-seventh Congress was its passage of the Soldiers' Bonus bill which President Harding vetoed. The bill was without practical merit from any standpoint, its sole justification being the obvious fact that the soldiers and sailors in the late war had been unfortunately discriminated against as compared with workers in muni-



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A SCENE IN FRONT OF THE CAPITOL IN WASHINGTON, AFTER THE EXPIRATION OF THE SIXTY-SEVENTH CONGRESS, ON SUNDAY, MARCH, 4

tion factories and shipyards who had been pampered for politics and who rendered poor service for extravagant pay. From the standpoint, therefore, of theoretical justice, the motive of the bonus bill could be defended; and the amounts of money that the bill called for were very modest if one began by admitting that "adjusted compensation" had to be figured out and paid. On the average, however, the ex-soldiers have more to gain through reduced taxation and enhanced prosperity than could ultimately come to them under the terms of the bonus bill that Congress passed and that Mr. Harding vetoed. This question will inevitably come up again when the new Congress meets next winter; and those who believe that it would be unwise to enact such a measure ought to be studying the subject and helping to form an enlightened public opinion.

*The Record
in Foreign
Relations*

In the field of foreign affairs the last Congress did not figure very conspicuously; but although the Senate acts separately in dealing with treaties, it is to be remembered that the House of Representatives is not without

its influence, and that all branches of the Government are in some sense associated together in the shaping of policies. Thus, although it was the Senate which ratified the series of treaties produced by the Washington disarmament conference, the whole of official Washington was behind the policy thus adopted. Naval reduction, fortification policy in the Pacific, and various other matters involved in the treaties could hardly be effective unless the support of one house was as well assured as that of the other. The creation of the Debt Commission—in the membership of which both branches of Congress are represented along with three members of the Cabinet—was one of the historic achievements of the late Congress; and the acceptance by both houses of the agreement that had been made tentatively for funding the British debt to the United States Treasury was in accordance with the best judgment of the country.

*Praise Due
for Closing
a Debate*

Elaborate arguments could have been made; and, indeed, debate could have been carried on for a year, to show either that the settlement agreed upon was unduly generous to



HOW THE NEW YORK STATUE OF LIBERTY LOOKED TO MR. BALDWIN WHEN HE FAILED TO GET THE INTEREST ON THE BRITISH DEBT REDUCED

From *Opinion* (London, England)

Great Britain, or else that it was not nearly generous enough. The fact that the Sixty-seventh Congress did not defeat the settlement by protracting the discussion and throwing the matter over to the next Congress, is under all the circumstances a most creditable item in the record. After the plan of debt settlement had been made, and finally agreed upon by both governments concerned, the debate was reopened in London by Ambassador Harvey's speech—evidently well-considered in advance—on a public occasion, with Lord Balfour's reply in the House of Lords. Both speeches were excellent, and they were not meant to arouse controversy. Mr. Harvey and Lord Balfour are accomplished rhetoricians, but are not recognized as authorities in matters of public finance. Fortunately, business men on both sides had already settled the question on business lines.

*A Matter
of Business
Detail*

The British Government, for general purposes during the war period and immediately afterwards, had borrowed great sums of money, principally from British investors, but

to some extent also from American investors. Speaking roughly it might be said that eighty-five or ninety per cent. had been borrowed in the United Kingdom, and ten or fifteen per cent. in the United States. The object of the recent agreement was to spread this American loan over a long term of years, with moderate rates of interest. British borrowing here would have been at a great disadvantage by reason of the fact that Uncle Sam was borrowing much larger amounts at the same time; and so the British Government was fortunate enough to have Uncle Sam act as intermediary. Thus the money that went to the British Government was nominally loaned by the American Treasury, though actually provided by investors, who took Uncle Sam's paper instead of John Bull's. There was never any well-expressed reason why the British Government should not meet its obligations in the United States. It would have been quite as reasonable to ask the American taxpayer to assume the burden of still other British loans as to shift to his already overloaded shoulders the liability that Great Britain had incurred here.

*Arguments,
and More
Arguments*

These remarks are not intended to controvert the views of sympathetic Americans who believe that the debt ought to have been cancelled. We are merely expressing the view that is obvious to all financiers that war debts must either be faced by the individual nations that incurred them, or else must be dealt with on a large and comprehensive plan. It would be much easier to show by argument that British investors ought to cancel the loans they made to their



THAT GLOVE-STRETCHER GRIN!

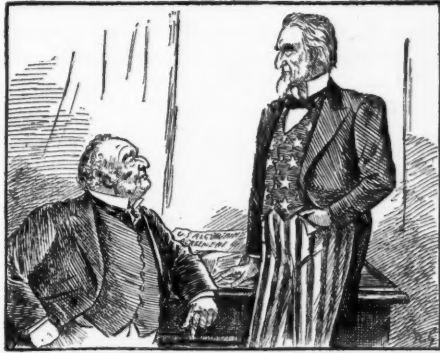
Mr. Stanley Baldwin, Chancellor of the Exchequer, brought back America's best terms, which have been accepted.

From *Reynolds' Newspaper* (London, England)

own Government than to show that American investors ought to cancel loans that they made to the British Government. And while "argufying," it would be quite as easy to show that the American Government ought to assume the Canadian war debt and the Australian war debt, or some other portions of the British war debt, as to prove that America ought to assume the indebtedness incurred by the United Kingdom in this country. Furthermore, if it were all an affair of assumed premises and syllogistic exercises, it might be easier to prove that the British Empire should reimburse the United States for its priceless assistance in the war time than to show that, besides paying all the immense costs of our intervention on Europe's behalf, we should also pay portions of the war debt of particular European countries. And so the debate might go on endlessly, nobody being convinced by the talkers on either side.

*The Larger
Problems Yet
to be Solved*

But the worst thing about such reasoning is that it comes so far short of meeting the situation in its largest aspects. The particular adjustment that has been made of the British debt merely takes care of an immediate detail, and does it with credit to both countries. It would be like splitting hairs to revert to the question of exact rates of interest and precise terms of payment, except for purposes of information. In view of all the conditions, our Debt Commission made a generous proposal; the British Government accepted it in the spirit in which it was made, and Congress showed excellent judgment in ratifying it promptly. Post-war finance bears distressingly upon the British public, and it also bears painfully upon us. But both countries will always meet their obligations squarely, and the example that they are setting to the world is not to be treated as of slight value. In the retrospects of history, it will almost certainly be seen by students and statesmen yet unborn that the Sixty-seventh Congress was a notable body of legislators chiefly because (1) it gave its approval to the principle of Anglo-American naval equality and (2) it created a Debt Commission and accepted an Anglo-American financial arrangement in a friendly spirit and without undue debate. The most essential thing for the stabilizing of world conditions, and for the protection of our rising generation against the sacri-



A SUGGESTION

Now that we have settled our little business in a friendly way, don't you think that the two of us together might try and straighten out the tangle over in Europe?
By Sir F. Carruthers Gould in the *Westminster Gazette* (London)

fices of war, is a real and close coöperation among certain powerful nations. And this must begin with genuine harmony among the English-speaking peoples.

*World Peace
Remains to
be Made*

The world must find its salvation in looking forward rather than backward. To use terms familiar in financial circles, it must "liquidate" the war, and "organize" durable peace. When compared with the larger settlements that have yet to be made, this Anglo-American debt arrangement is the merest detail. But details are not to be scorned, and their correct treatment sometimes has significance in relation to matters of magnitude. It is now admitted by most thoughtful people that the work of the peace conference will in many respects have to be done over again. This last Congress of ours gave no small attention to the question whether or not the American Government ought to convoke a world conference for the settlement of the vast economic problems that the Paris negotiators of 1919 failed to adjust conclusively. The House passed a vote in December almost unanimously consenting to some plan of a world conference for disarmament and economic readjustment. A Senate debate led by Mr. Borah showed readiness to approve of any plan that the Administration might mature.

*Super-finance
Will be
Required*

It turned out that Europe was not ready for real and final settlements, and the United States was obliged to postpone its suggested initiative. But the time will come for readjustments on a large scale, and these must

include inter-allied debts along with reparations, disarmament, and definite guarantees for peace. It is because Great Britain and the United States must work together for larger things, that the funding of the British debt on a practical business basis has significance for those who realize how ominous are the war clouds that still darken European skies. It would be far better to consolidate all of the war debts of the English-speaking countries, and reissue them with joint guarantees to international investors, than to have any serious disputes about them. France owes England a large sum of money according to the war ledgers, and also owes a large sum to the United States. Italy is similarly in debt. At present these debts are not burdening the French and Italian treasuries because the creditor governments are not making any demands.

*The Price
of Failure*

These external war debts of the Continental allies, of course including Belgium, may at some future time have to be consolidated and treated from an international standpoint, creditors joining with debtors in supporting the new obligations. The lucky nations in the Great War were such neutrals as Spain, the Scandinavian countries, and certain South American countries, which profited without making sacrifices or incurring loss. If all countries, including these neutrals, could have seen the wisdom of joining hands immediately after the armistice in hastening the work of reparation—everybody furnishing labor, materials, and credit—a genuine League of Nations might have been evolved out of such praiseworthy coöperation. That nothing of the kind was done is merely an evidence of the accepted fact that supreme statesmanship was lacking, and that in no country was there a leader able to apply generous theories to practical conditions. The practical men were not inspired by generous visions; and the men of high vision like President Wilson could not dominate in practical settlements. The world has had to struggle along and suffer many hardships as the price of its failures in the year following the armistice.

*Hopeful
Efforts.—the
World Court*

If courage and good will can but prevail over pessimism, America in the near future will join in another large effort to adjust the world's economic affairs, and diminish the menace of competitive militarism. We

are of opinion, therefore, that the Harding Administration in its first two years—and the Sixty-seventh Congress that coincided with the biennial period—are entitled to praise for various measures, both positive and negative, that have contributed towards the better future that hopeful people are determined to secure. One of the last steps taken by the Administration before the adjournment of Congress was embodied in a message of President Harding's which recommended that the United States assume full membership in the Permanent Court of International Justice that sits at The Hague and that has been formed under authority of the League of Nations. The court was so constituted that a country not belonging to the League of Nations could not only have resort to this tribunal for the settlement of a dispute, but might also be accorded its due share of influence in the selection of judges. As a matter of recognized fact, Mr. Elihu Root was one of the principal members of the group of eminent publicists and jurists who worked out for the League of Nations the plan of this court that was in due time accepted. Furthermore, one of our foremost authorities in international law, Hon. John Bassett Moore, is one of the judges of this international court, having been nominated by South American and other governments.

*We Should
Join the
Tribunal*

Mr. Harding's message of February 24 was accompanied by a full statement prepared for the President by Secretary Hughes covering the history of our long and honorable efforts for the working out of tribunals of this character. The first step necessary would have been the ratification of a so-called protocol, this being the agreement accepted by other nations for the establishment of the court. Such agreement having been adopted, Congress in due order would have to make suitable provision for appointments and for expenditures. That both houses of Congress would have been prepared to accept the President's advice in this matter, if the message had been presented a month earlier, can hardly be doubted. But with only seven days of the session remaining, and a great mass of unfinished business on the calendars, it was not possible to accord as much time for debate as Senators required. Unless we are greatly mistaken, the country as a whole will approve of taking our



PRESIDENT HARDING, WITH MRS. HARDING, AND MR. AND MRS. JOHN R. McLEAN, ON VACATION IN FLORIDA

(On March 5, the day after Congress adjourned, President Harding began the second half of his four-year term by proceeding to Florida as the guest of Mr. McLean of the *Washington Post*. He had not succeeded in securing the enactment of his Ship Subsidy bill, nor had his last recommendation to Congress advising our adherence to the International Court of Justice been adopted by the Senate; but he had earned a vacation, and it was promptly reported that the change of climate was hastening Mrs. Harding's convalescence.)

place in this organization of a world court. It is to be regretted that the Sixty-seventh Congress could not have added this achievement to its record; but it is to be remembered that the proposal was not rejected but merely delayed in accordance with the Senate's habit of deliberate committee work and unlimited debate. At the present moment this international court at The Hague can only deal with questions submitted to it, and it has no means of enforcing its judgments. Nothing of a vital sort is lost by our postponing adherence to the protocol until next year. But in many ways such a tribunal can and will contribute to the substitution of law and justice for unscrupulous diplomatic scheming, or for military threats when differences arise.

How to Regulate Immigration

The Sixty-seventh Congress gave much study to the future of immigration. The House Committee on Immigration agreed upon the terms of a bill which would modify

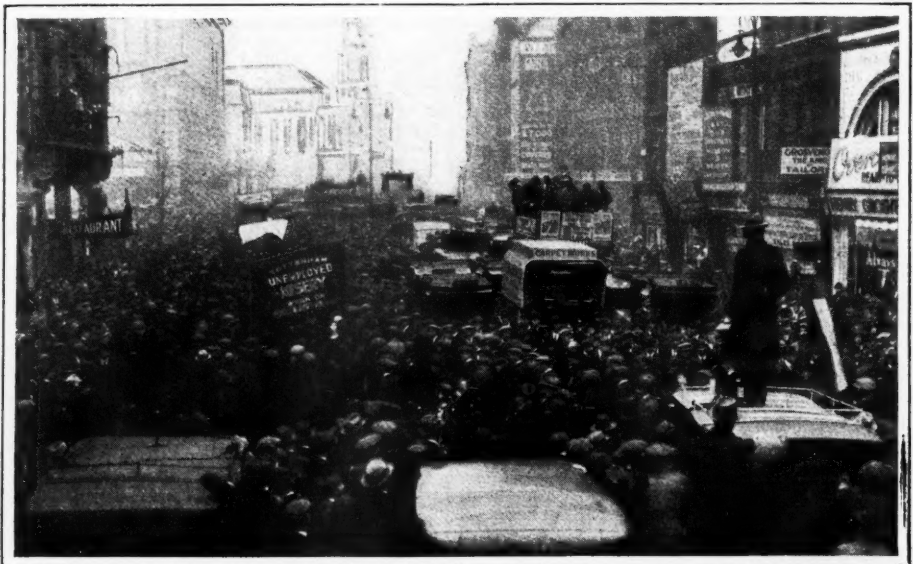
existing regulations in various ways and further reduce the possible influx of Europeans by one-third. Under the present temporary law, we are admitting immigrants of various nationalities on the plan of a maximum quota of three per cent., based upon our foreign-born population elements as shown in the census of 1910. This law, which went into effect in 1921, has been extended to June 30, 1924. The Congress committee to which we have referred has advised a reduction from three to two per cent., to be based upon the census figures of 1890 rather than those of 1910. This change would be relatively favorable to immigration from Northern and Western Europe. The new Congress will have to deal with this question next winter. Basing quotas upon the census, as in the present law, is a purely arbitrary arrangement. There was fear lest after the war we should be flooded with people trying to get away from Central and Eastern Europe. That emergency seems to have passed.

*Recent
Statistics*

In the fiscal year ending June 30, 1922, arriving immigrants numbered slightly more than 300,000. In each of the years 1913 and 1914, the arrivals were, in round figures, 1,200,000. About as many people came here in those two years as in the eight years that have followed; but this ignores the departure of aliens, which during several years has practically offset the arrivals. This was true in 1915, in 1918, and 1919. In 1921, the arrivals were 805,000 and the departures only about 250,000, the net gain being more than 550,000. In 1922 the net gain was only 87,000. Last year the United Kingdom, with an aggregate quota of 77,342, sent over here a total of about 63,000 English, Scotch, and Irish, while about 14,000 natives of the British Isles left our shores. The net gain, therefore, was less than 50,000, or not quite two-thirds of the British quota. The Scandinavian countries also came short of sending as many as they might, while Italy met her full quota of 42,000. Germany sent less than half of her quota. The total number of immigrants from Europe last year fell almost 50,000 short of the aggregate of permissible quotas. It cannot be said, therefore, that we are in immediate danger of being inundated by fresh floods of aliens from Russia and elsewhere.

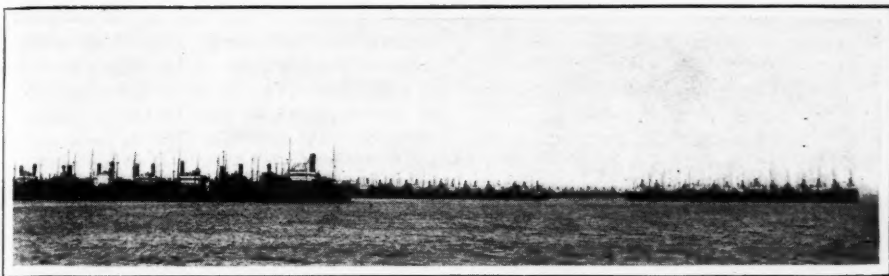
*From the
British
Islands*

When economic conditions are readjusted in Central and Eastern Europe, there will probably be sufficient opportunity at home for existing populations, and no special encouragement should be extended that would bring many of them to this country. During recent months the number of British immigrants has been increasing, and this is a tendency that ought to be strongly supported. The English population now increases by natural growth more rapidly than do the opportunities for employment at home. Factory workers and artisans from the British population centers are not well adapted to pioneer farming in Canada or Australia. They are, however, well fitted for employment in our American centers of textile, chemical, and metal-working industries. We do not need European farmers in the United States and Canada at the present time, because we are already suffering from agricultural overproduction, with corresponding low prices. Both Canada and the United States need workers on railroads and in shops and factories and in the building trades, rather than on farms. We have converted into American citizens many millions of people who when arriving here from Europe have been unable to speak a word of English. But there are reasons of various sorts why



A RECENT DEMONSTRATION OF UNEMPLOYED MEN IN LONDON

(Many of these, who are workers at various trades, could undoubtedly find permanent positions in the United States)



A GLIMPSE OF THE GREAT FLEET OF STEEL VESSELS OF THE UNITED STATES MERCHANT MARINE LYING IDLE IN THE JAMES RIVER, VIRGINIA

we should now seek a large immigration from Great Britain.

We Should Welcome British Unemployed We do not apply our quota law to Canada, and we might very properly repeal it as regards bona fide immigrants from English-speaking countries. In view of the fact that English is our official language, and that our laws and institutions are similar to those prevailing in Great Britain, it would not be regarded anywhere as unfriendly discrimination if we should provide the same exceptions in the immigration laws in favor of the English, Scotch and Irish that we now concede to Canadians. This is not a question of diverting any British colonists who might otherwise go to British dominions. It is rather the extending of additional opportunities. England has a surplus of skilled workers in certain trades, and for many of these it might be much more advantageous to come to the United States than to go anywhere else.

Our Idle Shipping The failure of Congress to pass the Ship Subsidy bill that was earnestly recommended by President Harding may not prove in the long run to have been a misfortune. We can afford to take another year for studying our merchant marine policy, along with immigration, and other related topics. One of the most gigantic of our undertakings in the years 1917 and 1918 was the building of ships. Money by the hundreds of millions was spent in extending old shipyards and creating scores of new ones, with the result of turning out something like 1500 ocean-going vessels, nearly all of them slow freighters of medium size. By seizure of certain German vessels and by a certain amount of passenger-ship construction, we were able under Government auspices to

start several new lines carrying passengers and freight to foreign ports regularly, under the American flag. The great reaction in foreign commerce has resulted in the temporary idleness not only of most of our newly built American ships, but also in much of the ocean tonnage of other maritime countries. Our Government operation of ships in use, and our maintenance of hundreds of vessels not in use, have resulted during the past two years in an annual loss to the United States Treasury of about fifty million dollars.

How to Maintain an American Marine There are certain experts and critics who say that this has been due in large part to a thoroughly bad system of administration. But it is chiefly due to general trade conditions. It seems to be true that there has been no desire on the part of powerful interests owning and operating steamship lines under various flags, American as well as European and Japanese, to have Uncle Sam's career as the largest individual owner of merchant shipping headed towards conspicuous success. Perhaps it is true that most of these vessels built in war time are not adapted, by reason of small size and inferior speed, to successful competition under existing conditions. The object of the subsidy bill, worked out by Chairman Lasker of the Shipping Board and advocated by President Harding, was to encourage private steamship companies to operate under the American flag by giving them moderate cash bonuses as inducements to buy ships from the Government and to keep their fleets in operation. But even without subsidies, the Government is ready to sell off its worst ships at prices amounting to hardly more than one year's interest on their original cost; while its standard steel ships are for sale at perhaps 25 or

30 per cent. of the Government's actual investment in them.

*Trade
Conditions
Control*

The ship owner who can buy a serviceable vessel at a nominal price on condition that he put it into service for a few years is already receiving what amounts to a substantial subsidy, inasmuch as the current cost of a shipping service must reckon annual interest upon the investment in bottoms. Manifestly, if there is no ocean freight to be carried in a given season, there must be many idle ships; especially if the world's tonnage is already larger than would be needed in times of expanded traffic. The future trade of the United States is to be principally domestic rather than trans-oceanic, even as in times past. But our total commerce has developed immensely since the opening of the new century; and if our future business on salt water were to amount to five per cent. of the total, as against ninety-five per cent. of domestic commerce, we should require the services of an enormous mercantile fleet.

*Need of
Further
Inquiry*

Sharp as was the decline in our foreign trade last year, it was fifty per cent. larger than in the years immediately preceding the Great War. From this time forth it is probably destined to achieve a steady growth. Possibly President Harding was mistaken in believing that there was much to be gained by the immediate enactment of subsidy legislation. No one doubts for a moment his sincere belief that the pending

bill furnished our best way out of a difficult situation. But events may show advantages in another year's delay before arriving at a decision. The defeat of the subsidy bill in the Senate was due to the unyielding opposition of the minority, who asserted that if the new Congress were consulted it would be found hostile to the measure. Filibusters are never admirable; but this last one was not quite so inexcusable as some other filibusters have been. The shipping question has so many angles that the country can better afford to meet deficits in cost of operation for another year or two, than to adopt an ill-matured policy which might not work out according to the predictions of its proposers. Members of the new Congress, which is not to be in session until next December, would do well to study this question of the merchant marine on its merits, without undue prejudice either for or against a subsidy policy.

*The Proposed
Change of
Dates*

As we have often reminded our readers, a new Congress does not assemble until December of the year after its election, unless the President chooses to call it to meet in extra session sometime in the interval between the fourth of March and the first Monday in December. Since Mr. Harding will not this year call an extra session unless some unforeseen emergency should arise, the flags will not be flying over the Senate and House wings of the Capitol Building for a period of about nine months. Commenting in our last number upon proposed amendments of the Constitution, we referred to the Norris resolution which proposes to change the date of regular sessions to the first Monday in January following the election. A new Congress would thus assemble for its first regular annual session two months after it had been chosen. The Norris amendment also provides that the terms of the President and Vice-President shall begin on the third Monday in January, instead of the fourth of March. This would shorten the period between the election and inauguration by about six weeks. The Senate on February 13 adopted Senator Norris' resolution proposing such changes by a vote of 63 to 6. Congress adjourned, however, be-



"WAKE UP!"

From the Chronicle (San Francisco, Cal.)

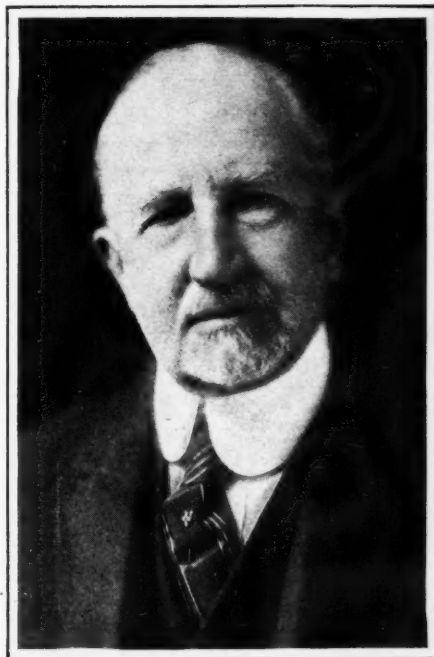
fore the House had voted upon the proposal. The changes might take effect in 1929.

Obvious Advantages

We are not aware of any reasons why the House should be more reluctant than the Senate to provide this remedy for a condition that is so often fraught with inconvenience. We shall elect a President and a new Congress and thirty-two Senators in November of next year. This will be only eleven months after the Sixty-eighth Congress has begun actual work. If the Democrats should be successful next year, we would have a Republican President associated with a hold-over Congress until the fourth of March, 1925, while the Democratic President-elect and his Congressional supporters would be waiting around, with the country annoyed and impatient. If, on the other hand, the proposed changes had gone into effect, the retiring Congress, having met at the beginning of January, would have finished its last session soon enough to allow Congressmen to go home for the elections. The new Congress would have met at the beginning of January, with ample time to conduct the formality of canvassing the votes of the Electoral College before the date of the President's inauguration two weeks later. Most of the State legislatures meet early in January, following the November elections, and the Norris amendment merely proposes a similar arrangement for Congress. It is obvious that if Congress met regularly on the first Monday of January in each year it could ordinarily finish its work by July first, and there would seldom be occasion for the calling of an extra session.

The Four Terms of the Last Congress

The recent Congress, besides its two regular sessions, was convened in two extra ones. In the long period of 134 years since the first Congress assembled in 1789, this Sixty-seventh is the only one that ever sat through four distinct sessions. A good many Congresses, of course, have had one extra session. It may be convenient to be reminded that Mr. Harding, who took office March 4, 1921, called the Sixty-seventh Congress into special session beginning April 11. This lasted about seven months and half, adjourning November 23. Less than two weeks later the first regular session began on December 5, and it did not adjourn until September 22, 1922. In both



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HON. FREDERICK H. GILLETT, SPEAKER OF THE LAST TWO CONGRESSES

(Mr. Gillett, of Springfield, Mass., has served in Congress continuously for twenty years past, and is reelected to the Sixty-eighth House. Although in his seventy-second year, he is a man of physical and mental vigor and at the height of his capacity for public usefulness. He will probably be Speaker of the new Congress.)

years, it should be said, there had been a summer recess of several weeks without technical adjournment. To gain more time for discussion of the ship subsidy bill, Mr. Harding convened Congress for another extra session on November 20 last. This was of brief duration, because the regular term began on December 4, lasting until the expiration of the Congress on March 4.

Some Protracted Sessions of the Past

Although the four sessions of this last Congress aggregated some 620 days, it is a mistake to say that it broke all records in this regard. The Sixty-third, which was the first of President Wilson's Congresses, and which passed the Underwood Tariff, had three sessions of 239, 328, and 87 days, respectively, totalling 654 days. The next Congress (the Sixty-fourth) had only two sessions; but the Sixty-fifth, which coincided with the first half of Mr. Wilson's second term and covered the time of our



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HON. FRANK W. MONDELL, OF WYOMING

(Mr. Mondell, who was Leader of the last Congress and who had served for more than a quarter of a century as a Representative at large from Wyoming, lost his seat to a Democrat in the November election and has been appointed to succeed Mr. Eugene Meyer, Jr., as head of the War Finance Corporation)

participation in the Great War, had three sessions, aggregating 634 days. The second of these sessions lasted from December 3, 1917, to November 21, 1918 (354 days), and this was probably the longest session in the history of the country. The Fortieth Congress, sitting in Reconstruction times (with Andrew Johnson as President) and expiring in March, 1869, was in session through a total of 706 days; and this we believe was a record that has not been equalled. It had one session of 345 days, another of 274, and it ended with the regular short session of 87 days. That was a stormy Congress, with Schuyler Colfax as Speaker and Ben Wade of Ohio as president pro tempore of the Senate. President Washington's first Congress began promptly on March 4, 1789, and sat until September 29, a period of 210 days. In the following year it was at work for 221 days, and its regular final session (88 days) gives it a total of 519, which has been surpassed by only a few of the succeeding Congresses.

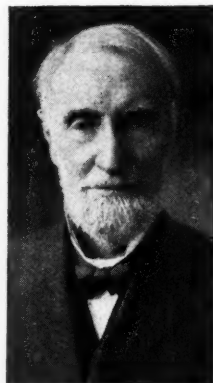
President Lincoln's first Congress, also sitting through three terms, managed to accomplish its work in a total of 356 days. His second Congress was in session only 299 days altogether; and these two Congresses, practically covering the four years of the Civil War, were in session for a total of 655 days, as against 1288 days for the first and third Wilson Congresses.

*The Retirement
of a
Veteran*

Some of the most experienced and influential men in the last Congress will not be seen in their accustomed places next December. Hon. Joseph G. Cannon of Illinois, familiarly known as "Uncle Joe," has retired from office voluntarily. Mr. Cannon was born May 7, 1836, and will therefore enter soon upon his eighty-eighth year. He was a prosecuting attorney in Illinois when Lincoln was inaugurated in 1861. He was first elected to Congress in 1872, and has served continuously in the House of Representatives for fifty years except for two terms (one thirty years ago, and the other about ten years ago) when the Democrats carried his district. This record of long service is unequalled in our history. Mr. Cannon was born in North Carolina of a Quaker family, and in early boyhood went first to Indiana and then to Illinois, a migration suggesting that of Lincoln. He was Speaker of the House for four successive Congresses, beginning with the Fifty-eighth.

*Others
Who Will
Be Absent*

One of Mr. Cannon's colleagues from Illinois, Hon. James R. Mann, who was first elected in 1896, and had served continu-



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**HON. JOSEPH G.
CANNON**

ously for twenty-six years, died last November. He was one of the most distinguished members of the Sixty-seventh Congress. The Republican Floor Leader of this recent Congress was Hon. Frank W. Mondell of Wyoming, who had served in Congress about twenty-eight years. Mr. Mondell's district was carried by a Democrat last November; but he will re-

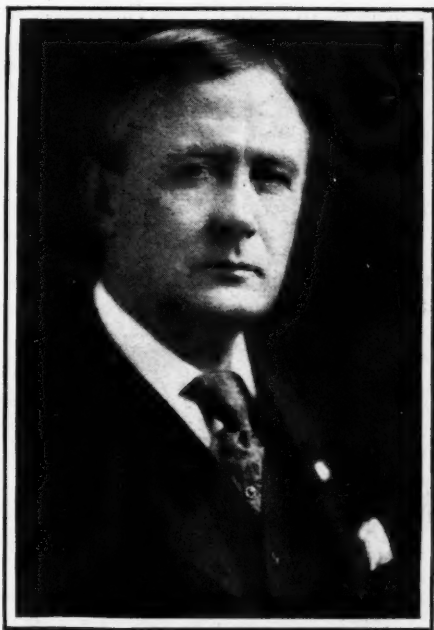
main in Washington, having been named to succeed Mr. Meyer as head of the War Finance Corporation. Other experienced and useful Congressmen who failed of reelection will in due time be found holding appointive offices. In Washington, it is the fashion to allude to these men as "lame ducks," but the term is used in a spirit of humor rather than of disrespect. It has been shown in many cases that the knowledge of public affairs gained in Congress has made these men much better fitted for appointive places than the average aspirant who has not had like opportunity of training for government work.

*Harry S. New
Enters the
Cabinet*

Thus Senator New, of Indiana, whose seat will be occupied by a Democratic successor, enters the Cabinet as Postmaster-General, and his legislative experience will not have disqualified him for his new duties. Mr. New's long connection with a leading Indianapolis newspaper had given him exceptional familiarity with the postal service. The Secretary of the Interior, Hon. Albert B. Fall, of New Mexico, had retired from the Cabinet, and Dr. Hubert Work, the Postmaster-General, was transferred to the Interior Department, thus creating the vacancy that has been filled by the appointment of Senator New. Mr. Fall is a man of knowledge and ability, but it did not seem as if his cup of happiness was quite full in a Cabinet place; nor did the marvelous opportunities for national service that filled Secretary Lane with such ardor and enthusiasm in the Department of the Interior have a similar uplifting effect upon the spirits of Mr. Fall. It is to be hoped that he may come back to the Senate from New Mexico, or that the country may in some other way have the benefit of his trained talents, and his views on Mexican policy.

*Politics and
the Postal
Service*

When Dr. Work left the Post Office Department, he uttered some pointed protests against the continuing tendency to regard the postal service as a hunting preserve for political spoilsmen. With his long experience in party politics and Indiana journalism, Mr. New is as well aware of this tendency as any other man in the country. As a loyal and admiring friend of President Harding, Mr. New naturally favors a second term for his chief. But he also knows well enough that Mr. Harding can afford to



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HON. HARRY S. NEW, OF INDIANA, WHO BECOMES POSTMASTER-GENERAL

appeal to the country solely on the record that his Administration is making; and that "hand-picked" delegations to the next convention, rounded up by Post Office inspectors, would do much more harm than good. The next Republican convention will be controlled by delegates from genuine Republican States who will be chosen in presidential primaries. If one may judge from present political signs, Mr. Harding will be renominated by acclamation. Newspaper publishers like Mr. Harding and Mr. New almost invariably acquire in the course of their business experience a decided preference for postal efficiency, as against post-office politics.

*Judge Towner
for
Porto Rico*

One of the ablest and most highly esteemed members of the Sixty-seventh Congress was the Hon. Horace M. Towner, of Iowa. His absence from the next Congress will not be due to the loss of his district, for he was reelected last November for a seventh consecutive term. Before entering Congress a dozen years ago he had served on the Bench in Iowa for twenty years. He leaves his influential post at Washington because he has accepted as a public duty an appoint-

ment to go to Porto Rico as Governor. As Chairman of the Committee on Insular Affairs, Judge Towner has been recognized by everyone in Congress as our foremost authority in the United States upon public matters of all kinds relating to our interests in the West Indies and in the Islands of the Pacific. Mr. Towner has long felt a special concern for Porto Rico, which he has visited on different occasions; and the Porto Rican leaders, regardless of party, have admired and respected Judge Towner, and have appreciated his discriminating knowledge and his genuine good-will. As we go to press, we have been receiving in this office letters and newspapers from Porto Rico showing that the appointment has been hailed with joy and enthusiasm.

A Position of Great Importance The relationship between Porto Rico and the continental United States can be made of such mutual advantage that no question could ever be seriously raised as to its permanence. There is a certain felicity in the acceptance of this post by Judge Towner as we are rounding out a quarter century since our war with Spain. We shall in the near future publish an article from an experienced student of Porto Rican affairs on the progress of the island since our intervention in 1898. The interests involved are so important that no man should ever be sent as Governor who has not attained distinction here at home, and who would not be regarded in Porto Rico as possessing qualifications of a high order. The island has exceptionally able judges and brilliant lawyers; and from them Judge Towner will undoubtedly receive a warm welcome. As a member of the Education Committee of the House, Mr. Towner has been identified with several

measures of great importance relating to the nation-wide improvement of schools, and to social progress in general. His interest in such questions will now benefit Porto Rico. His weighty influence at Washington, furthermore, will aid the island when Insular affairs are under consideration.

*The
Veterans
Bureau*

One of the last acts of the Senate was the adoption of a resolution providing for a thorough investigation of the Veterans Bureau during the interval between sessions.

This inquiry follows a resolution presented by a special Senate committee that had been dealing with soldiers' hospitalization, and that had found deplorable conditions in the work of a bureau that spends more than any other department or agency of the Government. An independent citizens' committee has also reported that the bureau is chaotic, and that forty per cent. of the employees could be dismissed if the service were run on a business basis. It is to be hoped that the Senate investigation will be thorough and unsparing. Invalid

service men and soldiers' dependents should be getting something worth while from an annual expenditure that reaches about \$500,000,000. The country does not grudge the expenditure, but it has a right to resent the waste and extravagance that divert an undue part of the appropriation from the service of its intended beneficiaries.

*Gen. F. T.
Hines as New
Director*

President Harding has made a good beginning in the way of reform by appointing Brigadier General Frank T. Hines as the new Director of the Veterans Bureau. General Hines has made his way up from the ranks in the army, and has proved himself an officer of



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HON. HORACE M. TOWNER, OF IOWA, WHO
RETIRES FROM CONGRESS TO BECOME GOVERNOR OF PORTO RICO

remarkable executive ability. He was a Captain, aged thirty-eight, when we entered the Great War. He was made Chief of Embarkation, and directed the shipment of more than two million soldiers across the Atlantic. After the war the Government placed General Hines in charge of all the transportation agencies that were then under direction of the War Department. Later on he was induced to become head of a steamship company; but now he goes back to Government service and he will perhaps find that straightening out the Veterans Bureau is almost as much of a job as was the handling of millions of soldiers under military authority. The Veterans Bureau unites the work of hospitals, disability payments, soldiers' insurance, and vocational training, under one management. Those who report chaos in the Veterans Bureau, it would seem, have not intended to reflect upon Colonel Forbes, the retiring Director, who has had much praise for his personal efforts.

*Questions
At Albany*

With the hiatus in legislative news from Washington, the current performances of our State law-making bodies are gaining more notice, particularly those of the East. It would be hard to recall a time when so many matters of general interest were pending at Albany as during the present season. Questions of taxation and finance are of course at the front in all of our States. Governor Miller had called a sharp halt upon the rapid growth of State expenditure, and Governor Smith now finds that too severe economies in one administration compel increased budgets in the next. A recent fire has brought attention to the obsolete character of the buildings in use for a number of hospitals and asylums, and Governor Smith proposes a thoroughgoing reconstruction at a cost of \$50,000,000. The Lockwood Committee, with Mr. Samuel Untermyer as its Counsel and constructive genius, has been struggling to give permanence to its efforts to break up the combines in the building trades, and to improve housing conditions at large. The inquiries of the committee have led in many directions; and reform in fire insurance, regulation of speculative exchanges, and the control of trusts through a Trade Commission, are among the subjects which have led the Lockwood Committee to recommend a series of bills of more than local interest.



GENERAL FRANK T. HINES, DIRECTOR OF THE VETERANS BUREAU

*The "Wets"
Losing Ground
In New York*

The election of Governor Smith was hailed with joy by the anti-prohibitionists. But the wets have begun to discover that the drys have no notion of surrendering, or even of compromising. The New York legislature has sent a joint resolution to Washington, with Governor Smith's signature, favoring certain modifications of the Volstead act; but the promised repeal of New York's enforcement law (the Mullan-Gage act) has not been accomplished. While smuggling and bootlegging have been rampant, the disposition to enforce existing laws seems to be gaining strength. There is always a struggle going on at Albany between the authority of the State and the home rule demands of New York City. At present this struggle relates principally to the regulation of public utilities. The State as a whole is much concerned with the problem of water-power development. The legislature under Governor Miller's influence passed a measure embodying the principle of private initiative in the utilization of the immense potential energy that is now going to waste in the waters of New York. Governor Smith, on the other hand, advocates development by the State itself, and

the distribution of power at cost, first to cities and towns, and then to private consumers. The forestry problem also is slowly arousing the attention that it deserves. It is a hopeful sign, furthermore, that the State of New York proposes to recover from municipalities the authority to provide a more uniform system of education for all the children of the State.

*Governor
Pinchot
and Prohibition*

Governor Pinchot has been bringing to bear upon the public interests of Pennsylvania those personal attributes of fearlessness and of positive conviction that have been tested in a long career. He believes that laws ought to be enforced, and he is going to diminish bootlegging in Pennsylvania or know the reason why. He has a powerful aid and supporter in Mrs. Pinchot, who has long been influential in public work, and who is rallying women's clubs for law enforcement. She has proposed to President Harding and also to Governor Pinchot the experiment of using women in small local districts as prohibition enforcement officers. If one were to revert to the history of prohibition in this country, it would not be difficult to show that the Women's Christian Temperance Union was by far the most effective of all agencies, not only for securing local option and State-wide prohibition, but also for seeing that dry laws were enforced. Mr. Pinchot is not a victim of personal ambition, and he sees his present tasks as the one aim and object of his existence. There will be so much to say about his administration in future months that it is enough now to report progress and wait for events.

*Proposals for
Inter-State Use
of Water Power*

Apart from Governor Pinchot's immediate program having to do with law enforcement and various reforms in the government of the State is his broad view of conservation questions relating to the country as a whole and also to particular sections. His authority in matters of reforestation is that of a famous expert, while his study of water power has also been of long continuance. Last month he sent a letter to Governor Smith of New York pointing out the disadvantages of trying to break down the federal water power law so as to give to each State the exclusive control of power developed within its own limits. Mr. Pinchot commends the proposal of Governor

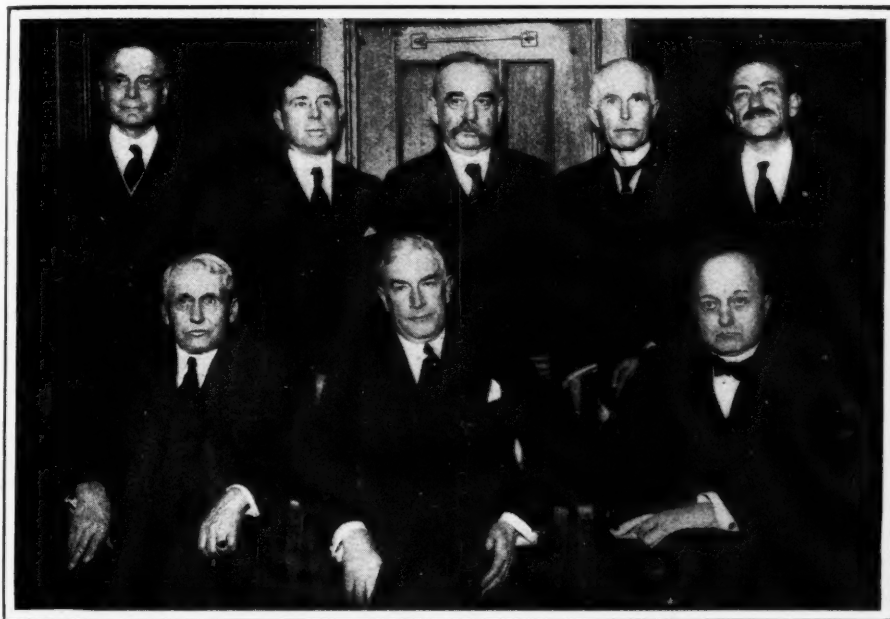
Smith to put the State behind the effort to supply citizens with electric energy at cost, and explains his proposal to have Pennsylvania's resources surveyed with similar objects in view. But he proceeds to show that State lines are purely arbitrary when it comes to the use of certain natural endowments. Thus the State of New York is probably the largest user of Pennsylvania's coal, both anthracite and bituminous. The time is to come when the coal will to a great extent be consumed at or near the mines and converted into electric power. Governor Pinchot shows that parts of New York would naturally derive electric energy from Pennsylvania's coal, thus converted.

*Future of the
Delaware and
St. Lawrence*

Furthermore, there will come, undoubtedly, an immense development of water power from future employment of the resources of the Delaware River. Power thus generated ought to be distributed to parts of Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and New York; and informal communications on that subject have already been exchanged by Governors Pinchot, Silzer, and Smith. The example set by a group of Western States in agreeing on plans for the development of the Colorado River has stimulated similar interstate projects elsewhere. Governor Pinchot points to Muscle Shoals, to Columbia River plans in the far Northwest, and to further proposed developments along the St. Lawrence. He claims for Western Pennsylvania a natural interest in power developments in the St. Lawrence region, and he points out the advantages for all sections of maintaining the national laws.

*Western
and Southern
Governors*

Following the articles in our February and March numbers upon groups of Governors and State activities, we are presenting a third article in the present issue, dealing with several Southern States and a number of Western ones. In the Eastern States, and in those of the Middle West, it was shown that State problems are being met on their own merits, and that the Governors as a rule are men of energy and intelligence well fitted for local leadership. Similar impressions are to be derived from the article in our present number. It is gratifying to read of State progress in such commonwealths as Alabama and Arkansas. As for Texas, it is so immense in area and



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MEMBERS OF THE AMERICAN DELEGATION TO THE PAN-AMERICAN CONGRESS AT SANTIAGO, CHILE, WHICH OPENS ON MARCH 25

(Back row, left to right: Dr. George E. Vincent of the Rockefeller Foundation, William Eric Fowler of Washington, Senator Willard F. Salisbury of Maryland, Frank C. Partridge, former United States Minister to Venezuela, and Dr. Leo S. Rowe, Director General of the Pan-American Union; sitting, left to right: Senator Frank Kellogg, of Minnesota, Henry P. Fletcher, Ambassador to Belgium (head of the delegation), and Senator Atlee Pomerene of Ohio)

varied in natural character that it is hard to comprehend. California, for about three-fourths of a century, has had more fascination for the world at large than any other individual American State. No other has been growing so rapidly in the present century. How to make State governments promote the welfare of the people, under new standards of life that demand something better than pioneer conditions, is the question that almost every State in the Union is trying to answer.

**Facts
About
Prosperity**

Europe, with all its advertised troubles and its ceaseless appeals to American sympathy and generosity, possesses a wealth of material development that few portions of the United States have as yet even faintly approached. Social systems are so different that direct comparisons are hard to make. The thrifty peasant farmers of France and Germany have methods and standards that in many respects are unlike those of the typical farmers of the United States. Europe has not the faintest understanding of the fact that millions of Americans since

the war, particularly those in farming districts, have been facing serious difficulties. Europe sees gold reserves piled up in the United States, and interprets this as meaning that all Americans have their pockets full of jingling yellow coins. The mere fact that Europe's inflated paper currencies automatically send gold reserves to a sound-money country like ours, that is compelled to export surpluses of cotton, copper, wheat, and other materials, proves nothing as to average prosperity. Russia also is now at the wheat export point; but this does not argue a diffusion of comfort among the Russian people. Much smaller exports relative to commodity imports, with higher prices for farm products, would signify better times for most people. Massing Europe's gold in this country does not help the farmer whose mortgages are being foreclosed because his wheat, cattle, milk, and cotton have been selling for less than cost of production. Advances show that there is a genuine though slow recovery in our agricultural districts, while textile, steel, and other lines of industry are on something like a normal basis, with labor fully employed.

*Europe's
Disturbed
Condition*

The uncertainties of European peace are the chief obstacle, of course, to economic recovery abroad. We had gone to Europe with the intention of helping to bring things to a definite conclusion that would be useful all around. But now we discover that no such finality was reached. Unless serious efforts are made, however, to complete the work that was left unfinished, and to bring matters to an accepted conclusion, the state of the world is likely to become much worse before it can grow better. Germany's fleet was sacrificed under compulsion, and likewise her armies were disbanded. Great Britain's position became secure, and the United States and Italy were also able to reduce their armies to the peace basis. But there had to remain some armed authority, if the terms of the Versailles peace were not to be totally disregarded; and it fell to the lot of France to stay on guard. It is a total mistake to regard this situation as one for which France alone was responsible. Evidently the invasion of the Ruhr by French armies is to be regarded as another phase of a Great War that has not yet reached a definite end.

*The Ruhr
a Mere
Beginning*

Mr. Simonds, in the present issue of this magazine, presents an analysis that is highly instructive. An American business man, Mr. Charles R. Hook of Ohio, contributes a statement (which will be found immediately following Mr. Simonds' article) even more emphatically justifying the action taken by the French Government. His opinions are based upon investigations which he has recently made in Germany from the standpoint of a steel manufacturer. Undoubtedly the French occupation of the Ruhr will continue until an international settlement is reached that will deal with reparations and debts as a whole. And this permanent settlement will require full participation on the part of the United States, and some share also in the guaranteeing of peace. At bottom, it is a question of present justice with a view to future harmony. The occupation of the Ruhr cannot yet be pronounced either a success or a failure; because it has only begun. It was inevitable under the conditions that existed. It is not likely to end until a thoroughgoing adjustment of fundamental issues has been agreed upon. British and American support of a settlement will be necessary.

*Rubber an
International
Question*

In Washington on February 27, an impressive gathering of American manufacturers of rubber began an international protest against the British restrictions on colonial rubber production, and a movement to discover, if possible, means of bringing American manufacturers to a position, as regards crude rubber, less dependent on the British Colonial Office. The immediate cause of this protest was the action of the Colonial Office, last November, in providing for much heavier export duties on rubber produced in the Malay Peninsula above 60 per cent. of the production in 1920. This 1920 output was the largest on record, rising to 344,000 tons for the entire world, as against scarcely more than one-third as much in 1914 and only 209,000 tons in 1921. The price of crude rubber promptly responded to this restrictive move, increasing from about 15 cents a pound to 37 cents.

*Rubber Is to
Us Like Cotton
to England*

These prices are very much lower than those of former years. As late as 1911, the price of rubber entering the United States was \$1.06; in 1916 it was 58 cents, and in 1919, 40 cents, this striking decrease running directly counter to almost every other known commodity bought and sold during that period, and being due to special causes that will be noted in a subsequent paragraph. Mr. Winston Churchill, who was at the head of the British Colonial Office when the special export taxes were put into effect, has been the chief spokesman in favor of the scheme. He points to the violent fluctuations in the price of crude rubber, and argues that it would be to the ultimate advantage of manufacturers everywhere that the price should be stabilized—say, somewhere around 40 cents a pound. He also claims that at the recent extremely low price (scarcely more than 10 per cent. of that obtained a few years before the war), the great rubber plantations of the Straits Settlements—in which British capitalists have invested something like a half billion pounds—were losing money and going to ruin. This last statement is denied by American manufacturers, who believe that efficiently managed rubber plantations can produce at a profit with a price of 15 cents per pound. However this may be, every increase in price of 10 cents means more than \$50,000,000 a year additional cost to American consumers, for the United

States requires 75 per cent. of the whole world's production of rubber and does not grow a single pound in its own territory. Thus, toward this particular raw material we are in much the same position as Great Britain is toward cotton.

The Curious History of Rubber

The demand for rubber has grown enormously in the last two decades, chiefly on account of the phenomenal development of the manufacture of automobile tires. The United States in 1914 imported 131,000,000 pounds; in 1922, 568,000,000 pounds. About half of all this rubber was used in making automobile tires. Until 1900, the world's supply of crude material was obtained from the wild trees in the dense jungles of Brazil and West Africa. Individual natives would penetrate these fastnesses, tap the trees, and bring out small quantities on each trip. In the meantime, however, experiments had been undertaken in the establishment of rubber plantations. It is said that in 1876 an English scientist smuggled a consignment of seeds of the rubber tree out of Brazil, in violation of that country's law, and began in the Far East the experiments which a quarter of a century later came to produce such important commercial results.

The Wild Supply Dwindles

At the beginning of this century, only four tons of rubber a year were coming on the market from the plantations; in 1910, they produced 8000 tons; in 1915, 107,000; and in 1920, 304,000 tons. With the rapidly falling prices brought about by these advances in production on the plantations, the Brazilian and West African wild product fell from 70,000 tons in 1912 to 23,000 in 1921. The cultivated rubber was not only produced at a smaller cost than most of the forest gatherings; it was also of better quality and sells for 3 cents more per pound. By far the largest and most successful of these rubber farms are on the Malay Peninsula, in British hands, these producing about 70 per cent. of the



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SCENE IN ONE OF THE NEW RUBBER PLANTATIONS OF THE EAST INDIES, FROM WHICH THE AMERICAN SUPPLY IS NOW CHIEFLY OBTAINED

world's supply. The rest of the rubber plantations are chiefly in the Dutch East Indies.

Can Independent Supplies be Found?

Just as Great Britain has for many years been experimenting with the culture of cotton in Egypt and other countries, so we are now bestirring ourselves to find out if there are any sources of supplies of rubber which will protect our manufacturers from the dangers inherent in a situation where the price of this absolutely essential material has been considerably more than doubled through the action of the British Colonial Office, leaving our market entirely uncertain as to what some other British administrators may consider to be a fair price to be paid by American consumers. The first thought in the search for land suitable for rubber plantations is naturally Mindanao, the southernmost island of the Philippines, which lies comparatively near to the British and Dutch countries now producing most of the world's rubber supply. Mindanao is as large as the State of Indiana, but its population is only about half a million. It has been found that the successful production of rubber requires great areas of land, abundant and cheap labor, and very large capital investment. The sparse population of the Philippine Islands, the limitations of land ownership there, and the general uncertainty as to the political future of these islands would

scarcely encourage capital in the large amounts necessary to go into such an adventure. There are some possibilities in Central America and in South America which will undoubtedly be carefully studied.

*The New
Farm Credits
Bill*

On the very last day of its session, Congress answered affirmatively President Harding's demand for legislation that would aid the farmer by extending to him the kind of credit suitable to his needs in marketing his crops, and at a cost for the hire of this capital that should be less than he has been accustomed to. The Agricultural Credits' Act finally adopted at the last moment is a combination of the three measures that had been under discussion at Washington for several months. It provides (1) for Government credit aid to farmers and (2) for organizations of private capital under federal charter to make loans on live-stock and farm products on their way to market. The Government's direct participation will appear in the form of Intermediate Credit Banks, one for each of the present Federal Land Banks. The Government will supply each of the Credit Banks with capital not exceeding \$5,000,000; it will be located in the same city with the Land Bank, and will be managed by the latter's officers and directors. These Intermediate Credit Banks will sell to investors debenture notes, secured by farmers' notes which have been discounted by banks and other financial institutions. The new Credit Banks will carry these farmer notes for terms of from six months to three years, and may also lend directly to farmers' coöperative associations. In its second division, the bill authorizes the establishment of national farm credit corporations with private capital, to be under the same supervision as national banks. These must have a capital stock of \$250,000 or more, and may issue collateral trust debentures up to ten times their capital and surplus.

*Indications
of Real
Progress*

We live in a time of thrilling interest, and there is much in the news, both domestic and foreign, to make it seem worth while to be associated with efforts for human betterment and general progress. Our readers should never neglect the "Record of Current Events," which we present from month to month; and we call particular attention to the condensed information under the

sub-head of "International Relations" on page 362 of this number. They will find, for instance, that the Port of Memel on the Baltic has been finally awarded to Lithuania and that Poland is confirmed in possession of Vilna. Real work has been going on at The Hague following the Washington Conference. Austria and Jugoslavia are doing business together most hopefully. Uncle Sam has just paid Norway more than \$12,000,000 under an arbitration award for ships taken during the war. A dispute has been settled between Austria and Hungary. The United States and Canada have signed their first direct treaty relating to fisheries in the North Pacific. General Crowder has taken up his work as our first Ambassador to Cuba. Turkey and the Allies have not finished their negotiations, but have been making progress. The attention of the whole world has been attracted to the brilliant results of archeological exploration in Egypt, about which we are publishing an extensive article this month.

*The
Situation
in Russia*

We have received statistical information showing that Russia's production of petroleum, coal, and pig iron had increased in 1922 to 10 or 15 per cent. over 1921. Russia has now somewhat less than half its normal number of cattle and sheep, but the production of wheat and other cereals is now much nearer the normal. Textiles for clothing are perhaps from a quarter to a third of normal quantity. Freight cars actually running are nearly 30 per cent. of the number in use before the revolution. About one-third of the locomotives are in operation, and nearly 40,000 miles of railway, with roadbeds in bad condition, are to some extent useful. There is great need of implements and utensils of all kinds, and it would take the investment of three or four billion dollars to be expended during several years to come in order to bring Russia back to something like normal economic conditions ten or twelve years hence. The Soviet authorities themselves would not pretend that the figures are any better than those we have thus briefly indicated. Lenin and Trotzky are reported as in seriously impaired health. All Russians are aware that foreign financial assistance is necessary and that this cannot be obtained until the Government makes investments safe. The failure of Communism is practically admitted by everyone.

RECORD OF CURRENT EVENTS

(From February 13 to March 14, 1923)

PROCEEDINGS IN CONGRESS

February 13.—The Senate adopts the Norris resolution proposing an amendment to the Constitution to advance the date of assembling Congress to the first Monday in January and the inauguration of the President to the third Monday in January (instead of March 4) following the election in November; the vote is 63 to 6.

February 16.—The Senate passes the British Debt Refunding bill by vote of 70 to 13, nine Democrats and four Republicans voting against the settlement.

The House requests Secretary Mellon and Secretary Hughes to furnish information about liquor importations by foreign diplomats.

Both houses receive the proposed plan for reorganizing the administration of the federal government.

February 19.—In the Senate a filibuster is begun against the Ship Subsidy bill.

February 22.—The House accepts Senate changes in the British Debt Refunding bill, and the measure goes to the President.

February 24.—The Senate receives a message from President Harding urging consent to participation by the United States in the protocol establishing the Permanent Court of International Justice at The Hague; he calls attention to Secretary Hughes' memorandum suggesting reservations to keep us "wholly free from any legal relation to the League," which would not be objectionable to other powers.

February 28.—In the Senate, the filibuster against the Ship Subsidy bill is successful, and the measure is displaced on the calendar.

March 1.—In the House, a Rural Credits bill combining the main points of three measures is passed by vote of 305 to 36; a "rider" extending the War Finance Corporation's life until January 31, 1924, is added; 31 Republicans and 5 Democrats vote against the bill, which is sent to conference.

The Senate passes the Filled Milk bill, prohibiting extraction of butter fat and addition of peanut or other oils in reducing condensed or evaporated milk.

The Senate committee which investigated the charges of Mr. Watson (Dem., Ga.), that American soldiers were executed without trial in France reports that the charges were unfounded.

The Senate unanimously adopts the House resolution asking the President to urge certain governments to limit the production of opiates, and restrict the growth of the poppy, within the necessities of medicine and science—about 100 tons a year instead of 1500 tons.

March 2.—The Senate passes the Reclassification bill equalizing the pay of federal employees, the Mississippi Flood Control appropriation of \$60,000,000 in the next six years, and the Deficiency bill appropriating \$156,700,000.

In the Senate, the following appointments are confirmed: Senator Carter Glass, Congressman Charles R. Crisp, and Richard Olney, as Democratic members of the Foreign Debt Refunding Com-

mission, which had been composed of Republicans; Horace M. Towner, as Governor of Porto Rico; D. R. Crissinger, as a member of the Federal Reserve Board; McKenzie Moss, as Assistant Secretary of the Treasury; Dwight Davis, as Assistant Secretary of War; Frank T. Hines, as Director of the Veterans Bureau; William Bondy, as District Judge; and Frank W. Mondell, as director of the War Finance Corporation.

The Senate Foreign Relations Committee postpones until the December session any action on President Harding's proposal that the Senate ratify the protocol establishing the Permanent Court of International Justice, thus becoming a member of the Court without joining the League of Nations.

March 3.—The Senate rejects the motion of Mr. King (Dem., Utah) to take up the question of complying with the President's request to sanction joining the Permanent Court of International Justice.

Both branches pass the compromise Agricultural Credits bill providing Government agencies for handling agricultural loans, and authorizing the organization of private agencies under Government supervision for making loans on live-stock security and on farm commodities on the way to market.

March 4.—The Senate committee headed by Mr. LaFollette (Rep., Wis.) reports on its oil industry investigation; it declares that "in some respects the industry as a whole, as well as the public, are more completely at the mercy of the Standard interests now than they were when the decree of dissolution was entered in 1911," and predicts that gasoline will be \$1 a gallon before long; the committee recommends eight measures to put the industry on a regulated public basis.

The Sixty-seventh Congress comes to an end, without final action on the President's Ship Subsidy legislation and his recommendation that the United States should join the Court of International Justice at The Hague.

AMERICAN POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

February 13.—Governor Silzer of New Jersey nominates a bi-partisan State Highway Commission of four members, headed by General Hugh L. Scott (Rep.) of Princeton and composed also of Percy Hamilton Stewart (Dem.), Walter Kidde (Rep.), and Abraham Jelin (Dem.)

February 14.—The New Hampshire House passes a bill to establish a forty-eight hour week for women and minors in industry which had been advocated by Governor Brown.

February 15.—Charles R. Forbes resigns as Director of the Veterans Bureau at Washington.

February 16.—E. Mont Reily resigns as Governor of Porto Rico.

At Washington, D. C., 3000 gallons of liquor are seized and 40 persons arrested by federal prohibition agents.

February 19.—At Saratoga Springs, N. Y., city firemen and police seize nine carloads of coal consigned to Canada which had been held on a siding during local scarcity.

The United States Supreme Court decides that a Hindu is not a "white person" within the meaning of the naturalization laws.

February 20.—The Pennsylvania anthracite coal miners' union publishes a statement that producers are taking an unjust overcharge of \$3.61 per ton in extra profit through "monopoly organization."

The New York Assembly (following action in the Senate) adopts a resolution urging Congress to permit the sale of light wines and beer; Governor Smith says he will sign it and transmit it to Congress.

At Salt Lake City, Utah, three prominent citizens are arrested under an anti-cigarette law, for smoking in a public place.

February 25.—The Federal Coal Commission receives estimates from mine workers that, on the present annual production of 70,000,000 tons of anthracite, owners are receiving an apparent net income of \$103,000,000, with a net profit of \$1.60 a ton; they estimate 28 cents a ton would be a fair profit on the basis of capital involved with this annual tonnage.

February 26.—Governor Alfred E. Smith urges the New York legislature to abolish nearly 100 State agencies and bureaus in reorganizing the State government by legislative action, rather than wait for constitutional amendment.

February 27.—Chicago mayoralty primaries result in defeat for the Thompson-Lundin-Hearst candidate, Arthur C. Lueder being nominated on the Republican ticket by 128,000 votes to 74,560; Judge William E. Dever is nominated by the Democrats, unopposed.

Harry S. New, retiring Senator from Indiana, enters President Harding's cabinet as Postmaster-General—succeeding Hubert Work, who becomes Secretary of the Interior in place of Albert B. Fall, resigned.

President Harding sets aside 35,000 square miles of oil lands in northwestern Alaska as a reserve for the navy.

March 1.—Hale Holden, president of the C. B. & Q. railroad, submits a plan to the Interstate Commerce Commission for the consolidation of western railroads into four great 30,000-mile systems, worth \$2,000,000,000 each.

The Shipping Board reports a loss of \$16,000,000 in the last four months' operation of its vessels.

March 2.—The resignation of Ambassador Charles B. Warren at Tokio is accepted.

The President signs the Porter resolution, requesting reduction in the foreign production of habit-forming drugs, and the Army bill, appropriating \$56,580,000 for river and harbor projects.

March 3.—Cyrus E. Woods of Pennsylvania is transferred, as Ambassador, from Madrid to Tokio, and Alexander P. Moore of Pittsburgh is nominated as Ambassador to Spain.

Senator Furnifold M. Simmons (Dem., N. C.) is nominated for membership on the Debt Commission, Senator Glass having declined appointment.

March 4.—Senator Simmons declines appointment to the Debt Funding Commission.

March 5.—President and Mrs. Harding leave the White House for a vacation in Florida on a houseboat.

March 7.—The Wisconsin Senate defeats a bill which had passed the House, providing for the abolition of the National Guard in that State.

It is announced that 102,101 federal employees have been dispensed with since Mr. Harding's inauguration.

Governor Thomas W. Hardwick of Georgia accepts a post as special United States Attorney-General to prosecute war frauds.

March 8.—Secretary Hoover confers with rubber manufacturers regarding investigation of prospects for growing rubber in the Philippines and elsewhere.

March 9.—Governor Pinchot of Pennsylvania offers to Governor Smith of New York to exchange fuel power at mines for water power from Niagara in the super-power project, and he asks that New York discontinue suit to annul the federal Water Power law.

New Jersey's highest court declares invalid a law providing five-year exemption from taxes on new buildings; the law was passed to encourage new building.

March 10.—Governor McCray of Indiana announces that he will not sign the Soldier Bonus bill passed by the General Assembly, because of the tax burden.

March 13.—The New York Supreme Court holds that the Anti-Saloon League is a political organization subject to the Corrupt Practices act and required to file a verified statement of campaign expenditures.

The New Jersey Senate confirms Governor Silzer's appointments to the reorganized State Highway Commission headed by General Hugh L. Scott.

March 14.—The Pennsylvania Senate passes a drastic prohibition enforcement bill, 30 to 15, and the bill goes to the House to meet strong opposition.

FOREIGN POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

February 13.—The British Parliament reassembles, with explanations of foreign policy by Premier Law in the House of Commons and Lord Curzon in the House of Lords.

In Russia, it is announced, forty-two persons have been sentenced to death and 1262 to prison for bribery.

February 16.—The Italian Senate ratifies the Washington treaties signed a year ago and also approves the Santa Margherita treaty settling with Yugoslavia the problems of the Adriatic.

February 17.—French indirect taxes for January amounted to 1,512,096,000 francs, it is announced, and were 189,000,000 more than for the same period last year.

February 18.—Dr. Alvis Rashin, Czechoslovakian Minister of Finance, dies from the bullet of an assassin fired January 5.

February 20.—In Austria the deficit is reduced from 5,293,000,000 crowns to 2,350,000,000,000 for 1923, and this is covered by the League of Nations loan; crowns rise from 75,000 to the dollar to 71,450 in a single day.

In the British House of Commons the Lambert amendment to the address in reply to the speech from the throne is defeated by vote of 273 to 167; it would have curtailed British activities in Mesopotamia, where £150,000,000 have been spent since the armistice.

The French Senate adopts the 13,000,000,000 franc ten-year bond issue already passed by the Chamber.

The lower house of the Japanese Diet defeats by a large majority a motion for lack of confidence in Premier Kato after the Peers had unanimously called on his Government to "consolidate its diplomatic policy."

February 22.—Gaston Doumergue, a former French premier, is elected president of the French Senate, succeeding M. Leon Bourgeois, resigned.

February 27.—The Ulster parliament for the north of Ireland is opened at Belfast by the Duke of Abercorn, the new Governor; the Dublin Free State authorities arrange to divide the customs and excise revenues for all Ireland with the North.

February 28.—Irish Free State troops capture P. J. Rutledge, "Minister for Home Affairs" in De Valera's so-called cabinet.

March 2.—Premier Mussolini of Italy causes the arrest of Menotti Serrati, editor of *Avanti*, the radical socialist newspaper.

At Tokio, the lower house of the Japanese Diet defeats the Universal Suffrage bill after Premier Kato announces that the Government is considering extension of the franchise.

The Norwegian Cabinet resigns over rejection by the Storting (119 votes to 22) of its proposed commercial treaty with Portugal.

March 3.—The English Under-Secretary for Home Affairs, Hon. George F. Stanley, is defeated in a bye-election by Harcourt Johnstone, an Asquithian Liberal; Sir Arthur Griffith-Boscawen, Minister of Health, is defeated by a Labor Candidate, J. Chuter Edge; both resign from the Cabinet.

March 6.—The Reichstag assembles to hear Chancellor Cuno speak on the Ruhr; he fails to arouse enthusiasm for his passive resistance policy and says that while invaded Germany will not assume the initiative in negotiating for a settlement.

The Turkish National Assembly, at Angora rejects the Lausanne peace treaty as contrary to the now famous Turkish National Pact (Constitution); but the Government is authorized to continue efforts for peace as an independent nation.

March 7.—Fifteen Bavarian royalist plotters are seized in a round-up to prevent accession of Crown Prince Rupprecht to power.

In Southern Ireland, Catholic dignitaries propose that Republicans deposit arms and munitions in dumps under direction of their officers; the income-tax office in Dublin is blown up, killing a Free State guard; 12 prisoners of the Free State are killed by trigger mines while removing a Republican barricade in County Kerry.

March 8.—M. Raiberti, French Minister of Marine, introduces the naval program, which provides for 175,000 tons of battleships, explaining that tonnage will be kept well within this figure.

March 9.—In the British House of Commons, Lady Astor's bill prohibiting sale of intoxicating liquor in saloons to persons under eighteen, for consumption on the premises, passes second reading, 338 to 56.

March 11.—British detectives arrest and deport to Dublin over 100 Irish agitators who are opposed to the Free State.

March 12.—Lt. Colonel Amery, First Lord of the Admiralty, tells the House of Commons that British net estimates for the navy have been reduced from £83,000,000 to £58,000,000; British army estimates show a reduction of £100,000,000.

March 13.—Seven Irish rebels are executed, bringing the total Free State executions to 63.

March 14.—Sir Samuel Hoare, Secretary of State for Air, tells the House of Commons that France has 1260 first line airplanes and Britain only 371; an increase of £5,000,000 he says would put Britain on a one-power standard, which would cost £35,000,000 a year, net.

THE RUHR SITUATION

February 13.—French blockade of iron and steel products is instituted against unoccupied Germany; Belgians take control of two coal mines; it is reported the steel blockade was anticipated and that Germany has removed all such stocks; the French confiscate Ruhr automobiles.

February 16.—A French battalion takes over the German police barracks at Essen following the shooting of two soldiers by the "security police."

February 17.—German sabotage takes the form of sinking two 1000-ton barges between the locks of the Rhine-Herne Canal; the French take over completely the customs system in the Ruhr.

Britain agrees to permit the French to use the Duren-Treves railroad outside Cologne and the Rhine railroad running through Cologne.

February 18.—Gelsenkirchen is forced to pay 100,000,000 marks fine for the shooting of two French officers by German security police; Dr. Gruetzner, president of the district, is arrested at Düsseldorf and expelled.

February 21.—A German official compilation of reparations estimates total present payments at 45,600,000,000 gold marks—figuring 5,000,000,000 gold marks for German state property in seized areas, 8,600,000,000 for transferred claims of Germany against her former allies, and so on, not including costs of armies of occupation; 2,300,000,000 is estimated as paid by coal and coke deliveries at world market prices.

February 24.—French soldiers seize at Hengsley a consignment of 12,000,800,000 paper marks on the Berlin-Cologne express, consigned to Rhineland branches of the Reichsbank.

French marines and colonial troops occupy Königswinter and Limburg.

French authorities order that, where sabotage is committed by unidentified culprits, the community shall be held responsible and fined; a French telephone wire is cut at Kethwig, the town is fined 1,000,000 marks, the Burgomaster is arrested, and the fine collected by house to house canvass.

March 3.—Mannheim, Karlsruhe, and Darmstadt are seized by the French, in reprisal for German blockade of the Rhine-Herne Canal and also to tighten the customs barrier.

March 4.—President Ebert decrees as espionage any act aiding a foreign power in political, economic, or military matters, and threatens fine and imprisonment to culprits, who will be tried by the Supreme Court at Leipzig; armed mobs terrorize Essen, where the security police have been disbanded by the French.

March 6.—The British zone at Cologne is completely isolated by French occupation forces.

March 9.—Dortmund is the scene of a round-up of disbanded security police by the French, who had previously cleared Essen and Bochum of the menace; 10,000 of these police are in the Ruhr, and are accused of espionage and propaganda.

March 11.—In reprisal for the murder of two French officers at Buer, near Düsseldorf, officials and prominent citizens are held as hostages and the town is fined 100,000,000 marks; near Bochum, German automobile trucks attempt to rush the blockade, but fail.

March 12.—Eight Germans are killed at Buer and several are wounded at Dortmund in riots with French troops; the entire Recklinghausen district is ordered in a state of siege; two of the dead at Buer were accused of murder.

March 13.—Near Essen, two sections of railroad track are blown up by dynamite.

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

February 15.—The French Chamber of Deputies passes the bill lending Poland 400,000,000 francs, under the treaty of 1921, for economic and military purposes, mostly equipment to be purchased in France; the vote is 515 to 68. . . . The 13,000,000,000 franc loan, of which 8,000,000,000 are for reconstruction, is passed, 512 to 71.

February 16.—The Council of Ambassadors awards the city of Memel to Lithuania.

February 18.—In the region of Orany, the neutral zone between Poland and Lithuania, armed bodies engage in guerrilla warfare over a boundary which has never been definitely fixed.

February 19.—At The Hague, a conference of jurists signs a set of twelve documents drawn to cover rules of war under a resolution adopted by the Washington Conference; when ratified by the six powers represented, the rules will form a treaty.

February 25.—Austrian Government guaranteed sterling treasury bills are offered to British investors at 93 per cent., repayable in one year at par, and similar but smaller issues are offered in France, Holland, Belgium, Sweden, and Switzerland.

Austria and Yugoslavia sign a protocol abolishing sequestrations and lifting restrictions, preparatory to negotiations in March for a treaty of commerce.

February 26.—Poles and Lithuanians, in the village of Smolniki, reach an armistice agreement.

The United States pays to Norway \$12,239,652.47 under the award of October 13, 1922, of The Hague Tribunal of Arbitration for ships requisitioned during the war.

February 27.—An arbitration court headed by Dr. Zimmerman, burgomaster of Rotterdam, awards Austria 3,000,000 Swiss francs as reparation for damages in recent Western Hungary border peasant disturbances.

March 2.—The new Japanese Ambassador, Hanihara, is received by President Harding at Washington, D. C.

The United States and Canada sign their first direct convention, for preservation of the halibut fishery in the North Pacific Ocean; Ernest Lapointe, Minister of Marine, signs for Canada, Secretary of State Hughes for the United States.

King Gustav of Sweden visits Amsterdam and is cordially received by Queen Wilhelmina.

The Right Rev. Fumason Biondi, new Apostolic Delegate from the Vatican, arrives in the United States.

March 5.—General Enoch H. Crowder presents his credentials to the President of Cuba, Alfredo Zayas, as first Ambassador from the United States.

March 9.—The Turkish note on the Lausanne peace proposals is received by the Allies at Constantinople, where further discussions may be entered upon; the note insists on the same prerogatives for Turks in Allied states as for foreigners in Turkey, accepts territorial conditions (suggesting that the Mosul question be negotiated for solution within a year and then arbitrated if not agreed upon), desires changes in debt distribution and accepts without much change the sanitary and communications provisions.

March 10.—Eliot Wadsworth begins negotiations at Paris with Allied financial experts for payment of American army of occupation costs; the Allies propose that we deduct value of confiscated German shipping from total of \$250,000,000.

March 14.—The Conference of Ambassadors fixes the Polish-Russian boundary on the 1921 line of the treaty of Riga and awards Vilna to the Poles, settling the Lithuanian boundary controversy.

March 14.—Japan declines to abrogate the treaty of 1915 with China, which contains the "twenty-one demands."

OTHER OCCURRENCES OF THE MONTH

February 15.—An archeological expedition under direction of Dr. Sylvanus G. Morley arrives at Merida, in Yucatan, Mexico, to survey the Maya ruins of Uxmal and Chichenitza.

February 16.—At Luxor, Egypt, in the Valley of the Kings' Tombs, the unrisfled tomb of Tutankhamen is opened under the direction of Howard Carter, of Lord Carnarvon's (British) expedition; the store of treasures found is unequalled from the art and historical standpoints (see page 404).

February 18.—Fire destroys the fourth floor of the Manhattan State Hospital on Ward's Island, New York City, and twenty-two insane patients and three attendants perish.

February 20.—Federal secret service agents round up twenty-two counterfeiters in New York City, accused of issuing \$1,000,000 in bad paper money and of forging whiskey and liquor labels.

February 21.—At Dayton, Ohio, the De Bothezaat helicopter rises in tests 15 feet, remaining in flight 2 min. and 45 sec., rising and descending vertically.

February 26.—It becomes known that John D. Rockefeller, Jr., has acquired (for \$1,000,000) the six tapestries called "The Hunt for the Unicorn," made for and owned by the La Rochefoucauld family of France since 1450.

Dr. J. G. Wolf, of the La Plata Museum, announces at Buenos Aires that he has discovered in Patagonia a fossilized human skull of the Tertiary period, several million years old, and also ruins 2,000 to 3,000 years old near Lake Cardiel in the territory of Santa Cruz; the oldest human skull hitherto found is about 500,000 years old.

February 28.—The Near East Relief reports \$12,280,325 spent in 1922 to succor 115,000 orphans in Turkish regions.

March 4.—Philadelphia police arrest 700 motorists in one day for violations of State Vehicle laws.

March 9.—The packing industry merger of the Armour and the Morris companies is completed after long discussion; Secretary Wallace, of the Department of Agriculture, has filed a complaint against

the merger; the combination represents a capitalization of \$500,000,000.

March 12.—The South and the Middle West suffer from severe storms ranging from rain and sleet to blizzards; great damage is done and forty-six lives are lost.

OBITUARY

February 14.—Rt. Rev. Charles David Williams, Bishop of the Episcopal Diocese of Michigan, 63. . . . Cardinal Bartholomew Bacilieri, Bishop of Verona, 81.

February 15.—Carl Fischer, noted music publisher, 73. . . . Gustav Schumann, baker and originator of the Bowery bread line in New York, 76.

February 16.—Harvey Smith McLeod, Troy, N. Y., manufacturer, who developed the system of proportional giving, 80. . . . William Duthie, famous Scottish breeder of short-horn cattle, 83. . . . Judge Richard H. Sansom, of the Tennessee Court of Civil Appeals.

February 18.—Nicholas Biddle, manager of the Astor Estate, 43.

February 19.—Prof. William H. Goodyear, noted archeologist of Brooklyn, N. Y., 77. . . . Charles Thaddeus Terry, lawyer and professor of law at Columbia University, 54. . . . Dr. James Douglas Bruce, professor of English at University of Tennessee, 61. . . . Katharine Pearson Woods, Baltimore author, 70. . . . Frederic Masson, perpetual secretary of the French Academy, historian, 76. . . . William Baxter Biddle, former railroad president of Chicago, 67.

February 20.—Rev. George Shipman Payson, widely known New York Presbyterian pastor, 78. . . . Jeronimo Jiménez, Spanish composer, 68.

February 21.—Prince Miguel de Braganza, eldest son of Portugal's Pretender to the throne, 44. . . .

February 22.—Théophile Delcassé, noted French statesman, former Minister of Foreign Affairs, 71. . . . Merrill Watson, fireproof building expert, 72. . . . Mrs. John A. Logan, of Washington, D. C., author, 84. . . . Webster Davis, of Kansas City, former Assistant Secretary of Interior, 61.

February 23.—Frederick W. Kost, landscape painter, 61.

February 24.—Charlemagne Tower, of Philadelphia, Pa., former Ambassador to Russia and Minister to Austria, author and financier, 74. . . . Robert Stuart MacArthur, D. D., president of the Baptist World Alliance, forty years pastor of Calvary Baptist Church of New York, 81. . . . Edward W. Morley, long a professor of chemistry in Ohio colleges, 85.

February 25.—Eugene Wood, humorous author, 63. . . . Brig.-Gen. Abner Hopkins Merrill, U. S. A., retired, 80.

February 26.—George Clement Perkins, United States Senator from California, 1893-1915, 84. . . . Major-General William P. Biddle, former Commandant of the Marine Corps, 69. . . . Frederic De Belleville, noted romantic actor, 66.

February 27.—Henry Alger Gildersleeve, New York jurist, 83. . . . F. Horace Teall, dictionary and spelling book editor, 73. . . . Joseph Ralph Burton, United States Senator from Kansas, 1900-'06, 70.

March 1.—W. Bourke Cockran, Representative in Congress from New York, famous orator and lawyer, 69. . . . Ruy Barbosa, noted Brazilian statesman, diplomat, and jurist, 74. . . . Francois Flameng, French portrait painter, 68. . . . Roderrick J. Mackenzie, Canadian railway magnate.

March 2.—Thomas P. Kane, Deputy Controller of Currency since 1899, 74. . . . Jesse A. Ide and James M. Ide, of Troy, N. Y., collar manufacturers. . . . Prof. Henry Phelps Johnston, Colonial historian, of Middletown, Conn., 81.

March 4.—Edward Lauterbach, noted New York railway lawyer, 78. . . . Brig.-Gen. George W. Burr, U. S. A., 57.

March 5.—Francis Wayland Ayer, of Philadelphia, a pioneer in the field of advertising service, 75. . . . Marsden G. Scott, former head of the International Typographical Union, 58.

March 6.—Charles Dyer Norton, banker, former Assistant Secretary of Treasury and Secretary to President Taft, 53. . . . Sir James J. Shannon, R.A., British portrait painter, 61. . . . Dr. Wilhelm Mayer, German Ambassador to Paris, 49.

March 7.—Rear-Admiral Franklin C. Prindle, U. S. N., retired, 81.

March 8.—William Ralston Balch, of Boston, journalist, 71. . . . Prof. Van der Waals, Amsterdam physicist and winner of the Nobel Prize for Physics in 1910.

March 9.—Stephen Farrelly, head of the American News Company.

March 11.—William Wirt Gurley, noted corporation lawyer of Chicago, 72. . . . Dr. Arpad G. Gerster, distinguished New York surgeon, 74.

March 12.—Capt. Karl von Mueller, famous commander of the German cruiser *Emden* in the war, 50. . . . Charlton Miner Lewis, professor of literature at Yale, 57.

March 13.—Dr. James Roscoe Day, chancellor emeritus of Syracuse University, 77. . . . Dr. Walker Gill Wyllie, distinguished New York gynecologist, 74. . . . Walter Montgomery Jackson, publisher, 59. . . . Marie Bates, actress.

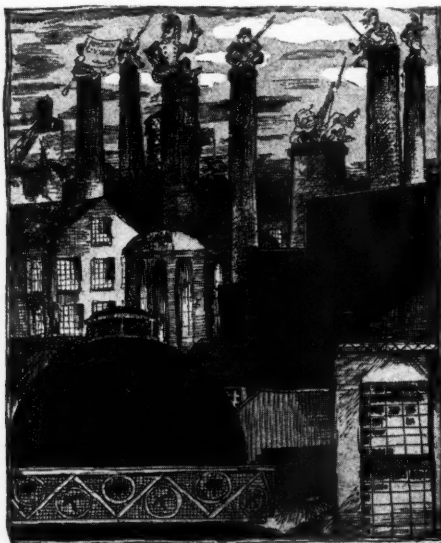
March 14.—Dr. G. Frank Lydston, surgeon and author, 65. . . . Fred H. Goff, Cleveland, banker, 65.



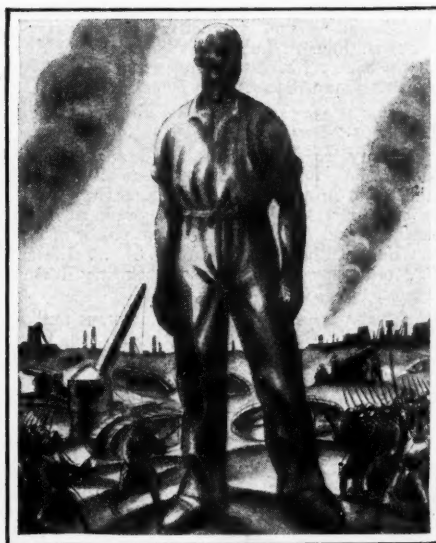
FOREIGN AND DOMESTIC TOPICS IN CARTOONS



THE GREAT GAME OF SEARCH THEIR POCKETS
From the *News & Mercury* (Birmingham, England)



FRENCH CONTROL OF GERMAN MINES
On the chimneys sit a crew
But they know not what to do.
From *Wahre Jakob* (Stuttgart, Germany)



**THE GERMAN MINER'S "NO!" IS MORE POTENT
THAN FRENCH WEAPONS**
From *Simplicissimus* (Munich, Germany)



COAL MINING IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

From *De Notenkraaker* (Amsterdam, Holland)

THE FRENCH APPETITE

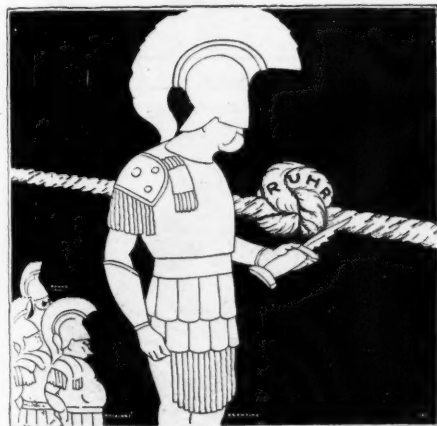
MUSSOLINI: "Leave him alone; he wants only a little."
 JOHN BULL: "Yes, but his appetite grows with eating."
 From *Il 420* (Florence, Italy)



FRANCE TIGHTENS THE CUSTOMS LINE

From *The Journal* (Paris, France)

[The German workman's features are those of Stinnes, the industrial magnate. The cartoon implies that Germany will be forced to yield, now that France has shut off the flow of materials from the occupied Ruhr region to unoccupied Germany]



THE SOCIALIST PREMIER OF SWEDEN, BRANTING, IN THE RÔLE OF ALEXANDER THE GREAT

(But the sword of justice is much battered, and the Gordian Knot is hardly likely to be cut)

From *Sondags Nisse* (Stockholm, Sweden)

THE SEIZURE OF THE RUHR TERRITORY

JOHN BULL: "For heaven's sake, give up. We shall all suffer!"
 POINCARÉ: "It doesn't matter. Germany must be flattened out!"

From *De Notenkraaker* (Amsterdam, Holland)



**WILL THE GREAT FATHER IN WASHINGTON
KEEP THE PIPE OF PEACE LIT?**

"Pull hard, if you don't want the Peace Pipe to go out!"

From *Kladderadatsch* (Berlin, Germany)

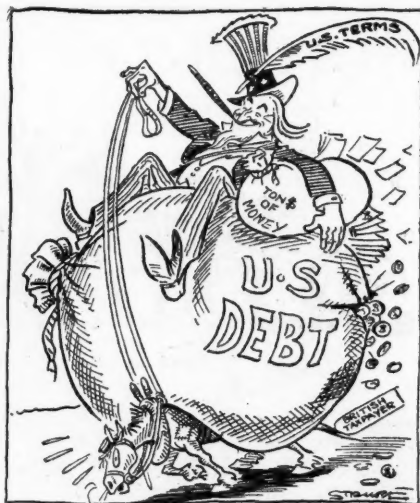
[The pipe stretches across the water to Europe, and the smoke spells the word *Anticrisis* or loan. The visit of Mr. J. P. Morgan to Germany, some weeks ago, raised hopes there that an American loan might be negotiated.]



**THE KING OF GOLD, AND HIS INTEREST IN
EUROPE'S AFFAIRS**

AMERICA: "Don't worry me. I don't want to interfere in European affairs. I have had enough of them."

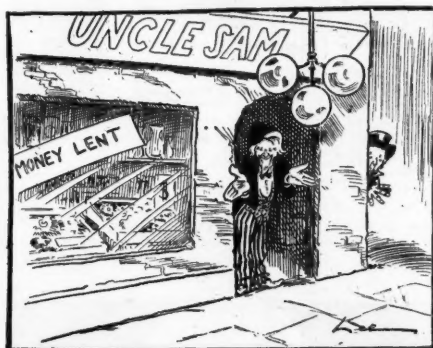
From *Mucha* (Warsaw, Poland)



"YANKEE BOODLE"

"Yankee Doodle came to town upon his little pony. Stuck a feather in his hat and called it macaroni."

From the *Express* (London, England)



"UNCLE" BY NAME AND "UNCLE" BY NATURE!

From the *Pall Mall Gazette* (London, England)



A MILLSTONE INSTEAD OF A LIFE BELT

From the *Passing Show* (London, England)



**THE BRITISH TAXPAYER IS LEFT WITH THE
BABY TO HOLD, AS USUAL**

(We have undertaken to pay our debt to America, a large portion of it incurred on behalf of our Allies. The frenzied rush which our Allies are making to pay their share of that debt must "touch" us all deeply)

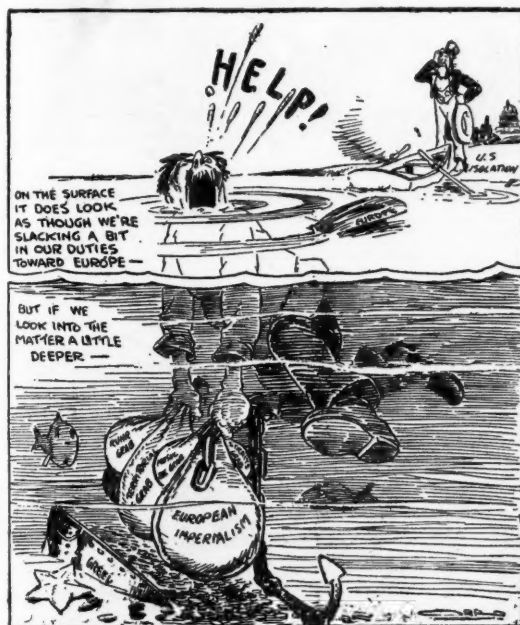
From the *Bulletin* (Glasgow, Scotland)



**"THE UNITED STATES NEVER LOST A WAR,
NOR WON A CONFERENCE!"**

From the *Bea* (Sacramento, Cal.)

THE possibility of American participation in the peaceful adjustment of international controversies came to the forefront again when President Harding recommended to the Senate, on February 24, that the United States should join with



A PUZZLING PROBLEM

From the *Tribune* (Chicago, Ill.)



**SOMETIMES IT'S NOT EASY TO BE A
CREDITOR**

From the *Plain Dealer* (Cleveland, Ohio)



NO WONDER THE OLD GENTLEMAN DOES NOT KNOW WHERE HE STANDS

From the *Union* (Springfield, Mass.)



TAKING THE STUMP

From the *Star* (St. Louis, Mo.)

those powers which have established the Permanent Court of International Justice at The Hague. This court was provided for in the covenant of the League of Nations, which the Republican Senate refused to ratify—without reservations—during Mr. Wilson's presidency. Mr. Harding's recommendation was not acted upon by the Senate in the week which remained before the expiration of the Sixty-seventh Congress; for a filibuster



FROM THE NOISE YOU'D THINK UNCLE SAM WAS A WEAKLING INSTEAD OF THE STRONGEST NATION

From the *Oregonian* (Portland, Ore.)



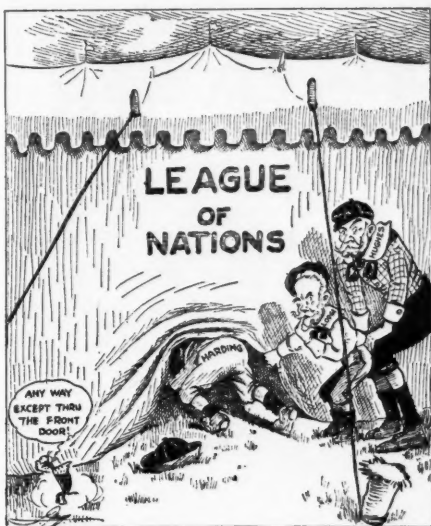
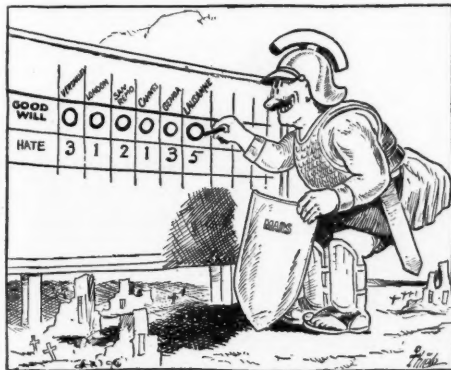
FILED AWAY FOR FUTURE USE

From the *Evening World* (New York)



PLANTING FOR THE FUTURE

From the *Times* (New York)

**CARRYING OUT THE PRESIDENT'S WISHES**From the *News-Tribune* (Tacoma, Wash.)**BETTER THIS WAY THAN NOT AT ALL!**From the *Constitution* (Atlanta, Ga.)**THE MENACE OF FILIBUSTER RULE IN THE SENATE**From the *News* (Chicago, Ill.)**THE RESULT OF EUROPE'S CONFERENCES**From the *Tribune* (Sioux City, Iowa)**LEAVING HIM IN A FIX**From the *News* (Dayton, Ohio)

directed against the Administration's Ship Subsidy bill had created unusual pressure. The proposal will come up again next December.



THE SENATE ANCHOR STILL HOLDS
From the Chronicle (San Francisco, Cal.)

On the last day of the session, Congress passed a compromise Agricultural Credit act, which will help the farmer to market his crops through direct Government aid and private loans under federal supervision.



MR. DAMOCLES HAD ONLY ONE SWORD
HANGING OVER HIS HEAD
From the Blade (Toledo, Ohio)



WILL RURAL CREDITS REALLY HELP THE
FARMER?—By Orr in the Tribune (Chicago, Ill.)



AT LAST THE IMPLEMENT HE NEEDED MOST
From the Chronicle (San Francisco, Cal.)



WHAT COÖPERATIVE MARKETING WILL DO
From the Kansas Farmer and Mail & Breeze (Topeka, Kansas)

THE FRANCO-GERMAN WAR

BY FRANK H. SIMONDS

I. THE PROGRESS OF EVENTS

THE month which has passed has disclosed remarkably little change on the surface of things so far as the major fact, the Franco-German struggle in the Ruhr, is concerned. The siege has gone forward quietly if logically and remorselessly. German resistance has on the whole remained passive, despite an increasing number of isolated instances of violence. As a consequence, the French action has also been marked by no military demonstration of magnitude.

In this period the French have enlarged their zone of occupation, not greatly but in such fashion as to consolidate their position. They have slowly organized the railway systems, and the moment is approaching when they will be able to move considerable amounts of coal. I am credibly informed, moreover, that not less than 16,000,000 tons of coal are now available at the pitheads, awaiting transportation. This means that there is in sight about four-fifths of the supply which the French are entitled to draw from Germany under the several agreements.

We are, then, likely to see in the next few weeks the beginning of a restoration of the flow of coal to France from Germany, unless—and the condition is of utmost importance—the Germans modify their passive resistance and undertake a more active campaign of sabotage which will have as its objective the physical destruction of the means of transportation. A little of this has already been attempted, and it remains, perhaps, the thing the French most fear.

Accepting the situation as it stands, the Germans have lost the first round in this new Franco-German War. They have been unable by passive resistance to attract intervention either from America or from Great Britain. Their resistance has not succeeded in producing any other result than interrupting temporarily the flow of coal to France, putting on France and Belgium the additional costs of occu-

pation and thus an added financial strain.

For the moment they have manifestly embarrassed the French by cutting off the necessary coal supply for certain French industries, notably the iron works in Lorraine. But the hour is close at hand when the French will be able to draw the coal from Germany. It has taken time to organize the machinery, but the work is about done. Thus, unless new circumstances arrive, we shall shortly see France and Belgium getting their coal, while German industries may remain paralyzed by the absence of further supplies necessary to ration German factories.

Now, to embarrass the French, the Germans have actually brought upon themselves very great and obvious losses. In the first place, a considerable number of orders for manufactured articles and for various raw materials, like coal, have been cancelled. All European countries which are customers of Germany, and American countries as well, have found that owing to the dislocation of German industry Germany has been unable to make deliveries, and they have turned elsewhere for the supply of their needs.

Lack of coal has crippled the German factories; but the real damage done to Germany so far has largely been the destruction of her foreign trade. She has been unable to deliver in foreign markets. She has been unable, therefore, to get funds to buy her foodstuffs and raw materials, save as she has drawn upon credits already established abroad or made drafts upon her own exiguous gold reserve.

The result is quite obvious. If you consider the problem of the ultimate reconstruction of German prosperity, then this has been postponed greatly by the Ruhr War. If Germany required a moratorium of from two to four years before the Ruhr occupation, to enable her to get on her feet, it is clear that she needs a much longer breathing space now; and a prolongation of the fight means an expansion of the moratorium time.

On the other hand, you must see the

essential fact: that the less the chance of early German payment and the slighter the chance of material payments, the greater the certainty that the French and the Belgians will not retire from the Ruhr in any early time. This is true, because it is axiomatic that as the chance of reparations declines the necessity of security increases. The more certain becomes the bankruptcy of France and Belgium, the more determined both will be that Germany shall not recover and become a menace to them in their weakened state.

In a word, the situation is rapidly changing from an economic to a political problem. Assume for a moment that the likelihood of any large German reparation payments has about vanished—and my judgment is that we are approaching the time when it will disappear absolutely—then, what is left for the French and the Belgians? Two things: First to hold the Ruhr, knowing that while they hold it Germany can not make war, since her machinery is practically all there and her coal supply wholly; secondly, to join the Ruhr coal to the French iron, thus making a material expansion of the French and Belgian industry.

True, if Germany surrenders now it may be possible to withdraw the French and Belgian troops from the Ruhr. But the control of the area will not be surrendered, and the troops will be ready to maintain the control established by industrial and civilian Frenchmen and Belgians, provided it is challenged. What the French and the Belgians are going to demand is some sort of Saar Basin arrangement, with the League of Nations appendix left out, an arrangement under which the mines, the machines, and the men of the Ruhr will work, but with the control of their output vested in France and Belgium.

This adjustment may be attended by political changes, such as the creation of new states along the Rhine, reminiscent of the Confederation of the Rhine of the last century; or the existing political conditions may be maintained. No one can forecast on this score, and much depends upon the latter developments, upon the length and character of the German resistance. But the obvious fact is that the Franco-Belgian control of the Ruhr is now to be an established fact for an indefinite period of time, and that this must be the basis of any settlement made between Germany and the two occupying powers.

II. THE NEW WAR

Later I mean to revert to this phase of the situation, but now, for a moment, I shall try to discuss the whole Franco-German situation as it has developed, because it is impossible to view one phase without regard to the whole history of the struggle. Actually we are, as I see it, in the third phase of a conflict which began in August, 1914, when Germany declared war on France, having already invaded Belgian territory.

The purpose of the German attack upon France was to destroy the French nation. This purpose had long been advertised by German soldiers, scholars, and statesmen. The German army was to be thrown suddenly against France, the French army was to be crushed by a single blow, and France thereafter was to be held to ransom while very large areas of France together with all of Belgium were to be directly annexed to Germany.

This plan was not realized, owing to the defeat at the Marne. It was necessary for Germany then to change her methods, while pursuing the same objective. Accordingly, she set out systematically to wreck the whole industrial establishment of France, in so far as she had seized it as a result of her violation of Belgian territory in the first days of the war. For four years this policy of ruthless destruction was pursued, with the skill and meticulous industry which the Germans possess. Thus, in the midsummer of 1918, France had been industrially erased, so far as Germany could bring about this result.

But, in July, 1918, the war turned against the Germans, and in the following months the German army was defeated and Germany was brought to surrender. She had lost the war, in so far as the war was a military affair. She had, moreover, lost it absolutely so far as the United States and Great Britain were concerned, since she was compelled to abandon her pretension to close the seas to our ships and was forced to surrender her war fleet and her merchant marine, which had constituted a double challenge to the British. Finally, in evacuating Belgium she abandoned the last menace to Great Britain.

But with respect of France and Belgium, Germany had not lost the war in any but the military sense, when the terms of the Armistice were established. She was still

the victor, unless by the treaty of peace which was to be made, and by the enforcement of the terms of that treaty, she was obliged to restore the industries which she had wrecked. On November 11, 1918, although her armies were broken and eliminated, she was physically victorious, so far as Belgium and France were concerned, since her own industrial establishments were intact while those of her victims were measurably abolished.

Now, what was German policy to be? It might be an acceptance of the terms of the treaty of peace and a prompt and honest effort to make the necessary contributions to the restoration of what she had destroyed. In a word, it might be the physical surrender of the victory she had achieved over France and Belgium, through her policy of destruction. Or, it might be an effort to preserve that victory by evading all payments, in so far as she was able.

If, however, Germany chose the latter policy, she was obviously continuing the war. In other words, having in the war undertaken to ruin France and Belgium, she would now be trying to preserve the substantial ruin she had achieved. Her calculation would be that before France could recover from her wounds, Germany would escape from the consequences of military defeat and be able to strike again at a France now financially crippled by the costs of restoration and still handicapped by incomplete economic reconstruction.

You must see, however, once for all, that if Germany chose the latter alternative—as she in fact did—what she really undertook was to continue the war, merely changing her methods. She no longer used armies, she no longer attempted physical destruction, since she was unable to do either; but she endeavored, by preventing the healing of the wounds she had inflicted upon France and Belgium, to keep them in such an enfeebled state that they would be unable to resist her, when a favorable moment for a fresh attack arrived.

From Armistice Day to the moment of the occupation of the Ruhr, then, Germany has waged war, has continued to make war upon France and Belgium. She has calculated that if France were condemned to rebuild her own ruins then she would be crippled permanently. She has calculated that Great Britain, living solely by her exports of manufactures and her imports of cheap foods, would be so interested in the

restoration of world markets that she would oppose any French effort to coerce Germany which might retard economic recovery. She has calculated on a similar American attitude, reinforced by an American idealism founded upon an imperfect appreciation of the true situation.

Just as Germany said in 1914, "I will attack France through Belgium, and even if Great Britain should intervene I shall have destroyed the French army before that intervention amounts to anything," so in 1919 Germany said, "I will resist all reparation payments which might avert French ruin and assist French restoration, and British interests will avail to hold France off until I shall have recovered and shall be able to deal with France myself."

There you have German strategy, Germany policy, the real German objective. She had lost the war with the United States, but this carried with it no material disadvantages. She had lost the war with Great Britain, but there was no conceivable way in which she could avoid the defeat and its consequences, because her ships, her war fleet, and her colonies had to be surrendered without delay. But she had not lost her war with France and Belgium, and she would not lose it until she had made the necessary payments to relieve French and Belgian taxpayers.

Looking back over the past four years, we see that the German calculations were not foolish, that there was an enormous amount of wisdom in them. It was true that the British would make every effort to save Germany, because of British self-interests, legitimate self-interests. After all, it was a case of life and death for the British, too. We in the United States have, on the whole, shown unmistakable hostility to the use of force by the French, and have even sought to take the army from French hands by a disarmament conference.

Yet, in the end the German strategy has failed for the simple reason that the French refused to abandon their power to deal with Germany, or to accept any decision which left them the vanquished in the World War. They have followed the German strategy with a full appreciation of its purpose. If they have been for the time restrained from taking action by a reluctance to break with Britain or lose American sympathy, they have always retained the purpose to use that force, whenever there was a real possibility of German success.

In the pursuit of her objective, Germany made herself officially bankrupt. She inflated her currency, she turned vast sums into domestic improvements, she permitted her industrialists to export a vast amount of capital. Finally, in the first days of the present year a situation arrived where Germany was no longer able to pay. She was bankrupt fiscally, although none of her sources of wealth, none of her means of production, was in the slightest degree impaired.

At this moment she reached the decisive point. If she could obtain a long moratorium, during which no payment could be demanded—and she had made no contribution to French reconstruction up to that moment, no substantial contribution—then her strategy was successful. She had won the second phase of the war, she was in reality victorious so far as France and Belgium were concerned. They were ruined, and behind her cover of a moratorium Germany could get together for the resumption of her war upon France.

As things stood on January 1, Germany had lost the World War from a military point of view, but she had won it from a material standpoint in so far as France and Belgium were concerned. The question that was then raised was whether France would accept defeat or resort to force. In the latter case, then, the Franco-German War would enter a new phase, a phase which would bring armies in and might lead to almost incalculable consequences.

III. FRANCE ACTS

We know now what the French decision was. Instead of accepting defeat, instead of bowing to German strategy, Poincaré followed the example of Joffre at the First Marne. At the moment when the German victory seemed beyond dispute, he counterattacked; and that counterattack transformed the whole situation and opened a new form of warfare, just as the Marne *riposte* did.

Americans say now, as they did before: "What does France expect to get out of her invasion of the Ruhr? Does she not see she is actually reducing her chances of collecting money from Germany, that she is destroying Germany not advancing her own claims?" Englishmen say the same thing with more of passion and less of perplexity.

But the truth is that when the French went into the Ruhr, they no longer had any

chance of collecting reparations by any other method. The German campaign of evasion had succeeded and was about to be crowned with victory through the proclamation of a moratorium. When Joffre counterattacked at the Marne, the German critics said that he was not only mad but wicked, because he was prolonging a war after there had been a decision. But in the Marne days, despite partial defeats, France did not accept ultimate defeat; rather she willed to live; hence she counterattacked and won. It was the same in January. The Ruhr is the counterpart of the Marne.

As far as reparations are concerned, the French may get no greater amount of coal than they collected before the Ruhr invasion, the coal which came to them by German deliveries. But as far as the Germans are concerned, the Ruhr occupation destroys their whole plan of evasion, for in order to hold out they must now commit economic and financial suicide and may even invite political partition. French factories and fields and homes may not be restored by German payments, but Germany will not be able to make a new war upon France and Belgium, staggering under the burden of rebuilding their devastated areas without German contribution.

Think of the Ruhr episode as opening the third phase in the World War, so far as Germany, Belgium and France are concerned, and much that is otherwise inexplicable becomes clear. The trouble is that in this country there was a very general notion that the end of the fighting ushered in a time of peace, or at least that the signing of the Treaty of Peace at Versailles marked this transformation. But in point of fact, so far as France and Belgium were concerned, this was not the case. With respect of both, the German continued the war. He had begun by invasion; he continued by evasion. He hoped, in the end, through moratorium to escape completely.

But now, when the French are in the Ruhr, what settlement is there conceivable? Assume—and it is a logical assumption—that some time within a few weeks or months the Germans will surrender, as they must; that they surrender unconditionally, as they must, when they discover that neither the British nor the Americans are going to intervene. Then what will be the basis of the new adjustment?

Obviously, whatever happens, the Germans will still continue their resistance, and

the result is the same—the Belgians and the French, reasoning from the past, will calculate upon this policy. Accordingly the French and the Belgians will inevitably insist upon preserving those things the control of which has produced the present German surrender. Further than this, apart from the coal, there is now little left that Germany can give for a very long time.

Thus any terms of adjustment will, as I have said earlier, leave France and Belgium in the Ruhr. Of course if the United States and Great Britain should come forward with an explicit proposal—in our case countersigned by the Senate—that they would guarantee German payment and at the same time insure France against German attack by their own military and naval forces, the complete evacuation of the Ruhr might take place. But the people in the United States and Britain alike are opposed to this form of commitment and for the French and the Belgians it is the irreducible minimum.

As I see it, then, in this third phase of the Franco-German War, we are unlikely to see any immediate solution. In all human probability we shall see a German surrender. But the surrender means nothing, because mere surrender can not be accompanied by any contributions to rebuild the ruins of France and Belgium. After the German surrender it will be years before there can be any such contribution, even if you assume German good faith. Therefore France and Belgium must retain German property as a guarantee, and that property is the Ruhr, the Rhineland and the adjoining fractions of Westphalia.

Again, I say, this may or may not mean military occupation. What it will mean is control. This fraction, at least, of German assets will pass to the hands of the creditors. These creditors will not attempt to run the industries by putting in miners or engineers or even supervisors, unless resistance continues, but what is produced will be subject to the will of the French and the Belgians. And at any point along the road where the Germans resort to evasion, there will be a prompt French and Belgian return to coercion, to the use of armies.

If you base your judgment of Franco-Belgian action now upon what has happened since 1918 alone, obviously you arrive at the conclusion that the two nations have wantonly begun a new conflict, that they are invading Germany, as Germany invaded their territories nearly nine years

ago. But this is the same process as holding the state guilty of a new crime because it pursues a thief, after the crime and after sentence has been passed upon the criminal, because society insists, not alone upon the apprehension and conviction of the criminal, but upon reparation in the form of restitution. If the thief is able after trial and conviction still to secrete the property so that he may ultimately enjoy it, then he has succeeded in his violation of the law.

If, on the other hand, you go back to 1914 and the succeeding years and see Germany engaged in deliberate destruction of Northern France and Belgium, with the declared purpose of permanently crippling both countries to the profit of Germany, if you see that when, at last, Germany was beaten in the field, she endeavored to evade paying for the ruin she had wrought, thus perpetuating her success materially, then the Franco-Belgian action takes on another character. If you realize that if Germany does not pay, both France and Belgium are ruined, not merely rendered fiscally bankrupt but physically crippled with respect of Germany, which plans a new attack, then judgment must take another form.

It is quite obvious, however, that one consequence of the German policy of evasion may be the ruin of Germany—that if, instead of a moratorium which meant victory, she gets an occupation, which has already led to the disorganization of her industries and the possible dislocation of her economic and political life, the upshot may be an even more complete ruin than she conceived for the countries she attacked in 1914. But there remains the obvious question, assuming all this to happen, whose is the guilt and where does the responsibility lie?

After what Germany did in the World War, above all, after what she did in France and Belgium, the sole and single chance that she should be permitted to escape similar destruction was that she should undertake in good faith to repair the ruin she had wrought. No one pretends that she did this, no one argues that she made any reasonable effort to do it. What is alleged is that the fact that more was asked of her than she could do, was an adequate excuse for her evasion of all real performance.

It is the perception of this fundamental truth which explains, I believe, why, after some hesitations, the majority of Americans have come to sympathize with Franco-Belgian action. That is why there has been

a nation-wide expression of sympathy with France which has been conveyed to me in personal letters by many readers of this magazine in recent weeks.

In England the reaction has been quite the opposite, but for a very obvious and wholly human reason. French action has menaced British industrial life. It has carried with it and still carries with it a grave danger for a country which has taxed itself enormously, undertaken to meet such obligations as its American Debt, already counts a million and a half of unemployed, and can only escape from its difficulties provided peace prevails in the world and the normal course of industry is resumed. What France has done in Germany may eventually affect us disadvantageously, but it is bound very quickly to handicap the British.

"Why, then," Englishmen ask, "should France in her effort to get back her own from Germany, bring ruin to the nation which fought beside her in the evil days of the war?" And the growing demand that the British Government shall do something to prevent losses caused by French action testifies to the general appreciation in Britain of the menace for themselves inherent in French action.

In his turn the Frenchman replies that German escape, after evasion, insures French ruin and he demands: "Why should you, our ally of the war, now go over to the enemy and seek his restoration at our expense, leaving him intact and abandoning us to certain doom?"

Now, if you take the trouble to read the British and French newspapers, you will find that on both sides of the Channel the debate is being carried on with furious acrimony. Our own opinion and comment is being colored and formed either through sympathy with Britain or with France. We call the French "wickedly imperialistic" or the British "sordidly selfish," in accordance with our sympathies.

What is too little perceived in America, it seems to me, is that it was this divergence of interest and the inevitable divergence of policies following, which the German calculated upon when he renewed the war after the Armistice, adopting a policy of evasion when his strategy of invasion had been blocked. Not British selfishness, not French militarism, but German design has produced the terrible situation in which we now live.

IV. SOLUTION

What is going to happen now? This is the question insistently asked from one end of the world to the other. No one can forecast exactly, of course. No one can estimate with any show of accuracy the time element. On the other hand it is clear that there are several outcomes, one of which will ultimately arrive.

Take the simplest and most obvious, namely, that Germany surrenders after a resistance more or less prolonged but always passive and not extended by any attempt at intervention from the outside. Then the terms of peace will include the continued occupation of the Ruhr, in some such fashion as I have already sketched—occupation by France and Belgium, perhaps a civilian occupation, based upon troops ready at hand.

Such an occupation may lead to the co-operation of French iron magnates and the leaders of German coal industry, a restoration of the coöperation which existed before the war when the iron of annexed Lorraine was still within the frontiers of the German Empire. Such an amalgamation directing its efforts toward the Russian field may in time yield great profits, some of which may be allocated to reparations.

Accompanying this must be a reorganization of German finances, the organization of some form of international control for the railways and the forests—in sum, Germany will be placed in the hands of receivers who will be bound to work at the same time for the restoration of the German machine and for the payment of such sums as are possible on account of reparations. The gigantic experiment of putting a nation of sixty millions under control will have to be tried; there is no escape from it.

Certainly Great Britain, probably Italy, as creditors, will be associated with the enterprise, but even their participation will not lead to Franco-Belgian surrender of the Ruhr assets which they have seized or the position from which to exercise pressure, which they have now occupied.

Now by contrast Germany may resist beyond the point where any reorganization, international or otherwise, will be possible. She may resist until her own industrial and economic edifice is in complete ruin, until her people are assailed by starvation and her workmen are left unemployed by the million. Then any sort of disorder is,

possible—riots, forcible resistance to French troops, a new revolution or a series of revolutions. These circumstances would naturally involve the ruin of Modern Germany, but the French would not, as a consequence, be forced to evacuate the Ruhr and the regions in which their troops preserved order might in time be ready to accept some sort of independence from the wrecked balance of the German Reich.

It is axiomatic that the longer Germany resists the worse her condition will be at the end, because the condition of resistance is the sacrifice of all her wealth-producing machinery. Sooner or later the whole German machine must come to a standstill.

Germany can take her fate in her hands and declare war, although Cuno has recently disavowed this policy, but what does war mean? Whatever fighting there will be must begin in the industrial regions of Germany, in the Ruhr, in Westphalia. There the French have now at least eight divisions and the Belgians one, while across the Rhine are as many more troops and a mass of equipment, heavy artillery and tanks, with bombing airplanes—material which makes the German army which invaded France and Belgium in the opening days of the war seem almost medieval by comparison. And to meet this force, instantly strengthened by the calling up of all the mass of French trained troops, more than a million at once, the Germans have men, but no adequate material and no means of acquiring it, since Essen is in French hands and upper Silesia mainly within Polish frontiers.

Such a war would cost France much, but when it was over, even if the French were forced behind the Rhine, there would be left nothing but the wreck of German mines and factories. Then, indeed, Germany would be condemned to every sort of misery and disorder which overtakes a country when its dense population is without means of feeding itself or providing exports to barter for food. The fate of Russia would be simple by contrast.

True the war might complete the ruin of France, of Belgium, of Europe, but granting that all would be ruined, the most immediate and terrible fate would be reserved for the Germans, since for them the purchase of food abroad is a matter of life and death. Yet, not even the threat of such a war and the possibility of such a ruin would prevent the French and the

Belgians from maintaining their hold on the Ruhr. Only actual war could get them out and actual war would destroy the Ruhr.

By contrast with declared war you might have increasing disorder leading to guerrilla conflicts. But in the long run this form of resistance would lead to open war and have much the same consequences. In point of fact it seems to me that, when it came to a choice between war and unconditional surrender, the German Government would surrender and that any outbreak of localized resistance of an irregular sort would hasten rather than delay this surrender.

V. INTERVENTION?

Let us now consider the question of intervention. Obviously at any moment one of two countries may project itself into the situation, or these two countries, Great Britain and the United States, may devise a common policy and intervene together, trying for obvious reasons to attract Italy with them.

But British intervention alone would mean something pretty close to war as Bonar Law himself rather bluntly explained in the House of Commons recently. It would be accepted by the French as a deliberate effort on the part of Great Britain to rescue Germany, to save her at French expense, and France and Belgium would resist any such intervention to the last moment before it led to open hostilities.

Now, even if you assume that the majority of Englishmen are opposed to the French policy—and this is perhaps a safe assumption, although there are great many exceptions—and if you assume that on the whole French action in the Ruhr is inimical to British interests, it is still a matter of grave conjecture whether the British would be willing to go to war against France and on behalf of Germany and it is unmistakable that any new war would be much more disastrous for British prosperity than is the occupation of the Ruhr itself.

Accordingly it seems to me one may dismiss, as unlikely, intervention by the British alone. But if the United States joined the British the situation would be changed. Assuming that the French might resist the British, it is inconceivable that they would risk challenging the United States as well. Anglo-American intervention might produce a new situation, might even bring about an evacuation of the Ruhr.

But what form would the intervention take? France and Germany are at war. Intervention merely to bring about the evacuation of the Ruhr would be tantamount to intervention in the war on the side of Germany. Now it is quite patent that the United States is not in the least ready to intervene in the present struggle simply to permit Germany to win the last phase of the conflict in which we recently fought beside France against Germany.

Therefore, if we intervened, it seems safe to conclude that our government would be forced to demonstrate to its own public that it was intervening as a friend of France. But this fact could only be established if France were prepared to concede that our action was friendly and this concession would be forthcoming only as the character of our intervention was disclosed by the proposals and plans which we presented.

Moreover, the French have in advance indicated their mind on this subject. They have said, in substance: "Let us fight it out, as it stands. Let us alone, unless you are prepared to guarantee that we shall get from Germany those things we are now fighting for, namely security, and the decent effort of Germany to pay in the degree that she can. Nor do we see how you can consistently suggest that we reduce German reparations while you remain determined to collect what we owe you without consenting to any reduction."

Now it is manifest that the government of the United States, that Mr. Harding and Mr. Hughes, neither have any desire to intervene as enemies of France, or as meddlers who would be considered enemies by the French people, nor are they in any position to undertake to guarantee French security or German performance by force of arms. Finally, they have no power to propose any cancellation of debts.

The best Mr. Hughes could do would be to propose some method of adjustment by conference, some friendly solution, if he were asked by the French and the Belgians to take such a step. But this presupposes that France and Belgium, feeling that they were losing their fight, should ask a friendly neutral to intervene to bring about peace negotiations—a traditional course in case of defeat, but an avowal in advance of defeat. Germany, of course, would be glad to accede to any such proffer made by us on French and Belgian invitation, because it would be the proof of German victory.

As for the British, they are waiting and watching eagerly for some sign that we will intervene. They know that only if we join with them can their intervention really carry weight. But marching with the British against the French and on behalf of the Germans would hardly be less unpopular in America than an independent venture, nor could it be less unwelcome in Brussels and in Paris.

If you think of the French occupation of the Ruhr in company with the Belgians as an isolated move, directed wholly to collection of money and already proven a failure, then it is easy to formulate a plan of American intervention which would be welcomed by the French and the Belgians as a means of escape from an untenable position, as a device which would cover their failure and save their pride.

But if you view the Ruhr incident as one detail in nine years of war, if you see, as the French and the Belgians do, that while it is not producing reparations, it has already guaranteed approximate security and will insure the possession of the machinery by which Germany could make war and of the coal mines, Germany's best single asset, your estimate of the meaning of intervention must be different.

Americans and Europeans think so differently about the same matter. In recent weeks I have talked with a score of representatives of foreign nations here in Washington. I do not recall having heard one who did not concede at once that French retirement from the Ruhr now would mean the elimination of France as a great power; who did not recognize that the occupation of the Ruhr had transformed the situation, who was not openly scornful or politely cynical over any suggestion of an American intervention as a move to be welcomed by the French or the Belgians.

And so it seems to me that one must dismiss the idea of intervention, either American, British or Anglo-American. The fate of France and of Belgium, in the minds of both peoples, is at stake in the Battle of the Ruhr. Therefore, all other considerations sink to nothing and the battle will be fought to a decision. Indeed, in French and Belgian minds the decision is already indicated. When the World War closed France and Belgium were ruined unless Germany paid, but Germany was solvent unless she were forced to pay, and solvent she could presently resume her attack upon her bank-

rupt foes. Now, France and Belgium are still ruined, but as long as they stay in the Ruhr Germany can not successfully assail them and unless Germany meets their terms promptly, she is far more completely ruined than either of these states.

Reparations, interallied debts, the markets of the world are vanishing. Perhaps European civilization itself is going down in the wreckage. No victor in any proper sense can now emerge from the conflict. It is no longer a question of who shall come forth successful but of who shall survive. But the unmistakable gravity of the situation, the general perception of the universal catastrophe which threatens, supplies no solution, invites no accommodation.

It is still impossible to persuade the French to submit to defeat and ruin because the refusal to accept their fate menaces the prosperity of the United States and imperils the existence of Britain. So far the Germans have refused to cripple themselves to restore France because such a policy might save Europe, might save themselves from ultimate collapse. As for the British, they have declined to underwrite the safety of France and associate themselves with the collection of reparations, although this was the single possible way of restraining French action, fatal to Germany and fraught with evil for Britain.

As for the United States, its Senate has just rejected a proposal to accept membership in the international court, although this acceptance could be no more than a gesture and would have no more relation to helping meet present world difficulties than would expressing the pious hope that a gravely wounded man, still bleeding and uncared for, might recover and passing on upon our lawful occasions.

VI. RECENT EVENTS

Looking back over the past four weeks it will be seen that there have been two very significant utterances. Bonar Law has, in fact, in precise terms, told the British House of Commons that short of possible war there was nothing that his government could do to restrain a French policy, shared in by Belgium, accepted by Italy, although it was contrary to the will and injurious to the interests of Great Britain. There was an end of calculations, German and otherwise, based upon the possibility of British intervention.

Not less clear in effect if not in words

has been the American policy. Our government recognizes that to attempt intervention now would be to affront France, divide American public opinion, and accomplish nothing, unless intervention were accompanied by very precise American contributions.

The second considerable declaration was the speech of the German Chancellor, Herr Cuno, which, while superficially proclaiming a determination to resist, withdrew the condition of peace hitherto proclaimed as essential, namely, French withdrawal from the Ruhr. A few weeks ago Germany would not consider discussion of peace save on the basis of French withdrawal. Now the Chancellor insists there must be ultimate withdrawal and that France must speak first, but he has evacuated the most important position.

My French and Belgian informants believe that we are approaching a moment when Germany will surrender. The resistance may last until June; capitulation may be more sudden, but they all agree that the end is now in sight. But the thing that should be considered now is that when the German surrender does come, there will be an inevitable collision between the British on the one hand and the French and Belgians on the other over the new terms of settlement.

Great Britain has refrained from sharing in the Ruhr operation, but she has large interests at stake. She is a 22 per cent. participant in German reparations. France, Italy and Belgium owe her seven or eight billions of dollars, just as they owe us a similar sum. All British interests are opposed to a permanent French occupation of the Ruhr, to the dismemberment of Germany politically, to the acquisition of special privileges by France and Belgium.

German surrender must lead to a new conference, even if France and Belgium, with the tacit approval of Italy, first lay down conditions which must be accepted by Germany when she yields, for the British will demand the right to modify or change such of these conditions as seem to them undesirable or even injurious. But, on the other hand, the French and the Belgians, who have borne the brunt of the present campaign, will hardly give up dearly bought advantages now.

At Paris we and the British persuaded the French to resign physical guarantees, such as possession of the left bank of the Rhine,

in return for our guarantees. They did, but our guarantees were not forthcoming and now they are physically able to demand from Germany what they refrained from demanding at our instance, four years ago. Are they likely to refrain anew? It seems improbable.

Bonar Law has refrained from an open break with France, both because he saw that short of a resort to arms Britain could not change French policy and because he recognized that if and when Germany surrendered the British position would be stronger if the principle of the Entente still survived. But this only foreshadows new and serious British action when another situation arrives, such a situation as German surrender must create.

Much has been said in recent days of a Continental bloc, a combination of France, Belgium and Italy, reinforced perhaps by Poland and the Little Entente, to withstand British and even Anglo-American policies, assuming that the United States should join with the British in seeking to impose common views upon the Continental countries. I do not take much stock in such calculations, but what is true is that when the British come to endeavor to limit French and Belgian policies after German surrender they are unlikely to get much support on the Continent.

France, Belgium and Italy are bound to stand together in insisting that there is no possibility of reducing German reparations except as allied debts are not merely cancelled, as a bargain, but abolished as an antecedent condition. If we intervene we shall face the same proposal. Anyhow it is axiomatic that the Continental nations have no thought of paying Britain and no present means of paying the United States.

The real, the supreme Anglo-French test is going to come after Germany surrenders. Her fate will then be in French hands, while the French will have the power to enforce their will, if they choose. It is to this eventual crisis that all British and French public men and newspapers are already looking forward, while the attention of the world is still fixed upon the Ruhr struggle. This circumstance explains the visit of Poincaré to Brussels, the comments in the French and British newspapers, the anxiety in the anti-French sections of British opinion.

It is clear, too, that the character of Anglo-French relations for many years to come will depend upon the fashion in which the next settlement is made. But it must be obvious how much weaker is the British situation now than in 1919 at Paris, when Britain had the powerful support of the United States, represented by President Wilson, and the invaluable asset which was the still unshaken Entente.

The new Franco-German adjustment will probably do extreme violence to much of the Treaty of Versailles. It may be an adjustment based upon the Ruhr War rather than the World War. It is bound to be looked upon by Frenchmen as a settlement in which they will free themselves from the errors and unfruitful concessions made four years ago. But, while Germany continues to resist, discussion of the later phases is at least premature.

I shall not this month discuss the Turkish rejection of the Lausanne Treaty. It does not, I think, promise new war—at least not immediately—but does indicate that the Turks are keenly alive to the fact that the British apprehension over the Ruhr affair at least suggests that new Turkish demands, notably for Mosul, may be successful.

More important is the more or less definite effort of the French to find a basis of agreement with Russia. It represents a wise move to abolish the bitterness now prevailing in the single European state which might sooner or later become an ally of the British in a new Continental coalition.

Since 1918 France has with some skill succeeded in associating with herself the most powerful of the new and newly aggrandized nations. She has an alliance with Poland and strong bonds of attachment exist between the French and all of the States of the Little Entente. Mussolini's policy has so far been pro-French and British policies with respect of Germany have ended by uniting Belgium with France.

Meantime, having broken German invasion at the Marne, France seems to be smashing German evasion at the Ruhr, but the end is patently not yet, and victory, when it does come, seems bound to open a prolonged period of Anglo-French dispute; for no memory of recent association now dominates the mind of either people and the divergence of essential and vital interests is unmistakable.

A BUSINESS MAN'S COMMENTS ON THE RUHR EPISODE

BY CHARLES R. HOOK

[The comments which follow are those of an American authority in iron and steel manufacture, Mr. Charles R. Hook, vice-president and general manager of the American Rolling Mill Company, with headquarters at Middletown, Ohio. Mr. Hook, with business associates, has recently visited Europe, and his trip included the industrial districts of Germany. He sends the accompanying observations in the form of a letter to the editor of this magazine. His convictions are positive, and his expressions regarding German economic policies since the war are those of unrestrained disapproval. But he is entitled to report his observations in his own way.—THE EDITOR]

SINCE my return from Europe, late in December, I have been much disturbed by the apparent lack of understanding and interest in France's position with respect to the German reparations question and the reason for her decision to enter the Ruhr.

Unfortunately, we are witnessing again in the United States the distressing scenes which occurred before our entry into the World War. We are being fed with figures and facts "Made in Germany" for American consumption. I read in the newspapers that Madison Square Garden, in New York, was crowded on February 22 with 14,000 persons at a mass protest of the Committee of One Hundred Against the Ruhr Invasion, and that not one champion appeared to plead the cause of France or to clap a hand in admiration of her German policy.

Before the Supreme Court at Washington the foes of Americanization are attacking Nebraska's foreign-language law, which prohibits the teaching of any language except English in all the schools below the eighth grade. What language is it that opponents of the law would substitute for the English language of the United States? Why, presumably German.

It was my privilege to serve as a member of "The Committee of One Hundred" on Americanization, appointed by the late Secretary of the Interior, Franklin K. Lane, and also on the legislative committee of that body. The extent to which German propaganda had influenced the subject-matter of text-books in the schools and the laws governing school districts in many of our Western States, will never be forgotten by any member of Secretary Lane's committees nor by any person who attended the memorable conference of governors and private citizens in the auditorium of

the Department of the Interior on April 3, 1918.

It would be interesting to know how many of the protestors against the Ruhr invasion made a similar protest, with like enthusiasm and vehemence, when the Germans rode rough-shod over Belgium and northern France—destroying, murdering, pillaging, and levying tribute wherever they went. Contrast the German invasion with the peaceful entrance of the French into the Ruhr. Not one building have they burned, not a dish or piece of silver taken, not a German harmed or touched as long as he refrained from attack.

Who, under the circumstances, has a right to protest against the French decision? Certainly no man or woman in the United States has a right to take exception to France's action, if that person has not made an honest attempt to become acquainted with the facts leading up to the French decision.

Accompanied by two associates, I left the United States on the 7th of November for a business trip to England, France, and Italy. On the Continent we were accompanied and assisted by the man in charge of our Continental European business. Part of the time we traveled together, and at other times we separated in order to cover the ground most efficiently. Our European manager is an American citizen, trained in our own plants, although educated in Poland, Germany, and France; and he speaks fluently the German, French, and Italian languages. We were well organized to make a careful business survey.

As a result of our experiences and investigations in England, France, Italy, and Germany on this trip, and the facts brought to our attention as a result of German competition with our products in South

America and other markets, my associates as well as I myself came home feeling a keen personal responsibility and obligation to tell the truth about the French invasion of the Ruhr as we see it.

The German industrial magnates cunningly depressed the mark to a point where they were manufacturing at a cost amounting to almost nothing when compared with the costs of American manufacturers. In Italy we had opportunity to secure startling facts; and by reading letters from German manufacturers to Italian consumers we discovered that without exception quotation was made in dollars, and it was provided that payment was to be made by deposit of dollars in a bank designated by the German manufacturers—a bank located not in Germany but where the goods were sold.

— This is simply confirmation of what we all know has been going on for the past three years. Germany's industry has been operating and running at a high rate of capacity when compared to France, England, and the United States. Her products have been manufactured at ridiculously low costs as a result of her depreciated mark; they have been sold throughout the world largely on a dollar basis, and the funds secured have been kept and invested in the financial centers of the world outside of Germany.

Is it any wonder that France decided to enter the Ruhr, when she knew that German industry was piling up huge credits outside her borders and at the same time deliberately delaying and refusing to pay what she had agreed at Versailles?

When our party of business men went to Europe, we had not intended to go into Germany; but after what we saw in France and Italy we were not satisfied to return to the United States until we had secured confirmatory evidence, if possible. So it was decided that two of our group would go into Germany and continue the investigation. As a result of their trip, we were more firmly convinced than ever that Germany was "playing possum," that she never intended to pay her reparations and never would pay until she was made to, and that there was nothing left for France to do but to go into Germany and stay there until the Germans changed their methods.

Our representatives were fortunate in getting into the works we were most anxious to see, although they were refused admit-

tance to a number of places. When they were there the mark stood at 10,000 to the dollar. In the plant of our principal competitor they were paying common labor 10,000 marks per week (equal to one dollar) and their skilled labor 20,000 marks per week (equal to two dollars). It does not take a mathematician to figure the relative production costs of German, American, British, and French goods with German labor on that basis.

We heard much before and during the war about German efficiency, and we had good cause to admit its existence. The war did not destroy it or even hurt it; and, when the Germans wake up to the fact that they must pay for at least the destruction they wrought, the old-time efficiency will suddenly spring to life and they will surprise us all with the rapidity of their "come-back."

I am shocked at the extent to which selfish business considerations influence the attitude of many well-meaning Americans with respect to the French policy. We have a moral obligation which is greater than any business consideration.

As soon as Germany saw that her borders would probably be entered, and that she would have a taste of what she had visited upon Belgium, France and Italy, she quit and quit cold. Her actions at the time of the armistice, and since, show conclusively that she intended and is determined to have a peace victory.

The peace treaty is signed, and our troops have been withdrawn; but our obligation will not be satisfied until we see to it that the German attitude toward moral as well as economic conditions is changed.

I am in full accord and sympathy with the suggestion that an international body of economic experts pass on Germany's capacity to pay, provided we go farther and arrange with Great Britain to join us in a definite guarantee to France, that we will stand back of her and see that Germany pays whatever sum is decided upon. If we are to suggest to France that she withdraw from the Ruhr and abide by the decision of this international commission, we should not only assure her we would join in making Germany pay, but it should be stipulated that out of these sums to be paid, France, Belgium, and Italy should be compensated for the destruction of their cities and industries before the funds are diverted to other purposes.

GOVERNORS OF THE SOUTH AND FAR WEST

BY WILLIAM B. SHAW

[This is the last of a series of three articles on newly elected Governors and their programs. Thirty-two State executives have contributed to the value of these articles by sending copies of their messages and other important documents. The editor takes this occasion to thank them for their prompt coopération.]

THOSE who have read the preceding articles in this series—"Nine Eastern Governors" in the February REVIEW and "Nine Governors of the Middle West" in the March number—must have been impressed by the similarity of interests among the various States, as made clear in the programs announced by the newly installed executives. The Governors of the eighteen commonwealths, extending from the Atlantic coast to the foothills of the Rocky Mountains, were all shown to be concerned with problems of taxation, administrative economy, education, and the development of industry. Varied as our States are in their population and resources, their progress is largely conditioned on a few basic interests which are essentially common to all. Those charged with the responsibilities of government in communities as widely separated as Maine and California have to deal with sets of conditions that are strikingly similar. A Governor may, and often does, make use of the experience of a distant State in formulating and carrying out his own localized policy. More of this is done to-day than ever before in our history. Never before were so many unifying influences affecting our national life and methods of government.

In the pages that follow we shall consider several States which would not, perhaps, be selected as typical or representative of the whole Union. Yet we shall find their Governors keenly alive to like problems of government and urging almost the same reforms that have been advocated by their northern and eastern neighbors. Indeed, a study of the pronouncements of newly elected Governors in the South, the

Southwest, and the Far West, leads to the conclusion that progressive and sane leadership is quite as much in evidence in one part of this big country as in another. If there ever was a time when provincialism was popular, that day has gone.

INTERESTS OF THE PALMETTO STATE

We may fittingly begin this month's survey with South Carolina, one of the original Thirteen States, which to-day, according to the statements of both the retiring and the incoming Governor, faces the future courageously and hopefully.

The South Carolina of 1923, we gather from these utterances, is far more concerned about her privileges and her duties as a sovereign State than about her rights as such. The Hon. Wilson G. Harvey, on retiring from the office of Governor, on January 11, recommended to the Legislature a bond issue of \$50,000,000 for building a State-wide system of hard surfaced highways and an increase of more than one-third in the appropriations for public education, together with increased taxation to cover the new expenses. In advocating the large expansion of the public-school appropriation the retiring

Governor declared that "from one end of the State to the other the people are demanding that this money be provided at any sacrifice and the amount proposed is sufficient only to meet urgent needs." It was proposed to meet this increase by sales and luxury taxes, taxes on corporations and hydro-electric power, and increased income and inheritance taxes.



THOMAS G. McLEOD
(South Carolina)

The incoming Governor, Hon. Thomas G. McLeod, for many years a leader at the bar and actively identified with his State's educational interests, committed himself in his inaugural address to policies of efficiency and economy, the program of indirect taxation already enacted, and the enforcement of the prohibition law. In a special message to the Legislature, a few days after his inauguration, Governor McLeod dealt with the possibilities of South Carolina's industrial development. It is well understood that some of the large textile plants of New England are considering removal to the South. By making such a change of location they would be close to the raw material of their industry and would enjoy other distinctive advantages. Governor McLeod welcomes them to the Palmetto State and asks the Legislature to investigate the comparative taxation of industries in South Carolina and the neighboring States with a view to any adjustment that may be required to remove any possible discrimination against South Carolina on the score of unfair taxation.

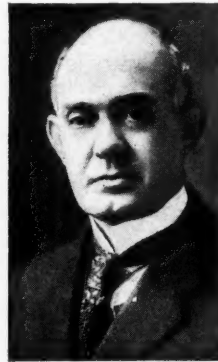
REORGANIZING GOVERNMENT IN TENNESSEE

No one can study State administration in any part of the land without realizing that its complexities have vastly increased during the past two or three decades. North or south, east or west, it is about the same story. To begin with, the State government was simple; it had few functions, calling for a limited personnel. Its cost to the taxpayers was correspondingly light. One by one new functions were added, requiring here a bureau and there a wholly new department, each more or less independent of every other branch of the government, and the whole system involving endless duplication and waste. Most of the States, lacking any effective budget system, soon lost all check on expenditures. A private business in a like situation would have faced bankruptcy. A few resolute Governors, with legislative help, began about ten years ago to demand a concentration of administrative power in a few responsible hands. A halt was called in the creation of boards and commissions and many offices were abolished outright. Such a course was taken in Illinois, Idaho, Nebraska, Massachusetts, Washington, Ohio and Maryland. Under Governor

Lowden, of Illinois, more than one hundred offices were abolished. A consolidation of departments was also proposed in New York by Governor Smith in his first term and the proposal has been revived during his present term by a special message.

In Tennessee, when Governor Austin Peay took office at the beginning of this year, he found the State government functioning through thirty-seven boards and twenty-seven departments, several of which were collecting and disbursing State revenues independently and without coördination. For some time the State had been running in debt about \$1,000,000 a year. Taking a leaf from the experience of other States and availing himself of the expert assistance of the New York Bureau of

Municipal Research, Governor Peay drafted a bill for the consolidation of the State's activities in eight executive departments answerable directly to the Governor. The Legislature at once enacted this bill into law, thus giving Tennessee the structure of a State government which promises to be as efficient and economical in its work-



AUSTIN PEAY
(Tennessee)

ing as it is simple and clear in outline. The eight departments are those of Highways and Public Works, Agriculture, Labor, Finance and Taxation, Education, Institutions, Public Health, Insurance and Banking.

The new Governor is a native of Kentucky who has lived and practiced law in Tennessee ever since his college days. He is forty-seven years of age. While an active Democrat, Governor Peay did not conduct a bitterly partisan campaign for election. Two years before, Tennessee had gone Republican in the Harding landslide. Mr. Peay's election last November meant a change of 80,000 votes in the State. Besides the reorganization of the governmental system, Governor Peay is pledged to reduction of the burden of taxation on the farms of the State and to improvement of the rural schools.

ALABAMA AND HER SCHOOL TAX

In Alabama the election last fall signified no marked change of policy in State administration. The term of the retiring Governor, the Hon. Thomas E. Kilby, had been signalized by the abolition of the convict-lease system, by the building of new and up-to-date State prisons and by various other measures which led Dr. Hastings H. Hart, of the Russell Sage Foundation, to say that "in the past four years Alabama has advanced from the rear rank to the front rank of the States of the Union in her social progress."

Governor William W. Brandon, who succeeded Governor Kilby in January last, came into office pledged to carry on the

constructive work so well begun by his predecessor. In his inaugural message to the Legislature he laid particular stress on the State's provision for education. He warned against further neglect of the rural schools and insisted that every such school should be open for a minimum of seven months in the year. Elementary schools in Alabama are now supported by a State school tax of three mills, a county tax of three mills, and a district tax of three mills. As the proceeds of these combined levies have failed to yield sufficient financial support for the elementary schools of the State, Governor Brandon recommends a law levying a per capita tax of two dollars upon every citizen, black and white, male and female, between the ages of twenty-one and fifty years. It is estimated that such a tax would yield a fund of more than \$1,000,000 a year.

Finding that the State University and the normal schools are also crippled by lack of adequate financial support under the existing laws, Governor Brandon proposes a constitutional amendment for a three-mill tax, one-half to go to the normal colleges and elementary schools, and the other half to the State's higher institutions of learning.

After fifteen years as State Auditor,

Governor Brandon is in a position to appreciate Alabama's fiscal needs. Inequality of taxation is an evil from which the people of Alabama have not been exempt. The Governor is convinced that much property, heretofore exempted from taxation by special laws, should, in fairness, pay its share of the expenses of government. Not only should stocks, bonds and solvent credits be taxed, but the privilege tax on mortgages should be increased and required to be paid annually. He would also levy a tax on gasoline for maintaining the public roads.

The Governor pledges himself to strict enforcement of the prohibition laws and to the carrying out of the constitutional amendment through which the people of Alabama voted the State's credit to the building of a port at Mobile. The new Governor is a native of the State, and has been engaged in the practice of the law at Tuscaloosa for the past thirty years. He was a member of the Legislature for three terms, clerk of the Alabama Constitutional Convention of 1909, auditor during the years 1897-1911, and probate judge of Tuscaloosa County. During the Spanish-American War he was a Major in the Second Alabama Regiment, and after the war became Adjutant-General of the Alabama National Guard.



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WM. W. BRANDON
(Alabama)

PROGRESSIVE ARKANSAS

Recent visitors to the interior towns and rural districts of Arkansas have reported a quickening of interest in progressive farming methods throughout the State. This may be due in no small measure to the well-directed efforts of the State College of Agriculture. For instance, in the month of January the Extension Service of that institution conducted a five-days' campaign for soil improvement throughout the cotton belt. Meetings were held in forty-three towns and were addressed by more than twenty speakers, some of whom came from neighboring States. These speakers stressed the importance of terracing hill lands subject to erosion, and also the need and practicability of crop rotation. There was also a discussion of boll-weevil control.

This brief campaign was a typical incident in the practical educational activities to which the higher institutions of Arkansas have been committed for several years past, and with which the Governor of the State, the Hon. Thomas C. McRae, enthusiastically

coöperates. Entering on his second term as the State's executive, Governor McRae occupied practically one-third of his message to the Legislature with comment on what he regards as the present educational crisis in the State and with proposals for relief through better taxing methods.

Governor McRae seems to be satisfied neither with the workings of the State school laws, nor with the financial support that the schools have thus far received from the people. He says that only a little over half of the children of the State are in daily school attendance and that the average school term is only 131 days. Furthermore, he finds that many of the school districts have inadequate equipment, unsuitable buildings, and no funds with which to provide better. Even many of those school districts that have good buildings are involved in debt for them, and after paying the interest there is little left for the teachers' salaries. He declares that many of these schools would now be closed but for voluntary contributions.

Meanwhile, the State institutions are all asking for additional buildings and equipment, and the Governor says that they need all that they are asking. At the same time the Governor is convinced that never before were the people so keenly interested in education as now. Never before was there so great a demand for trained and experienced teachers. He asks that the handicaps of short terms and ill-adapted courses of study in the country districts be removed at once.

To accomplish such a result, it is obvious that something different from the old-fashioned limited property tax for school revenue shall be adopted. Last year that tax yielded for each child of school age, \$11.46; for each child in school, \$17.59, and per capita for total population, \$5.11—and this for a State which boasts of more children in proportion to population and more native-born children than any other State in the Union!

The Governor recommends that the State property tax be abolished; that the counties be made the administrative units; and that efficient county boards of equalization be substituted for the present township assessors. Each county will then make its

own assessment at such rate as is required to meet its needs without paying more than its share for State purposes. Moreover, the property tax, falling chiefly upon the owner of tangible property, with the enormous road and drainage tax put upon real estate, is regarded by some as a penalty on investment in homes. Changed business conditions have made tangible property almost useless as a measure of one's ability to pay taxes. Governor McRae calls upon the State to resort to other taxes, such as insurance, inheritance, income, business and franchise taxes, and thus to keep abreast with the progressive States of the Union. On this point the Governor remarks:

There is nothing in the Constitution to prohibit it, and the General Assembly is supreme in its authority to lay and collect any taxes not prohibited by the Constitution. In tax history, public opinion is fast crystalizing in favor of taking the State taxes off property and putting them upon profits. California has led the way in the taxation of public utilities on the basis of gross earnings. New York has led in taxing individual incomes and the incomes of business corporations. West Virginia, a State smaller in area and with less population than Arkansas, has practically no property tax. A study of the tax laws of these States I commend to you. The fairest basis for taxation is profits, rather than property. The expenses of the State government, exclusive of education, should be paid by increasing the various special taxes now authorized, and by a franchise tax on business corporations. Our entire educational system should be supported by severance taxes on all our resources, and, in addition, a personal profit or business tax should be placed on individuals and partnerships. The funds derived from these two taxes to be dedicated and set apart for educational purposes, and treated as an educational fund. At least 10 per cent. of the fund should be annually carried to the credit of the permanent school fund and invested as such.



THOMAS C. McRAE
(Arkansas)

The proceeds of the income tax and the severance tax on all natural resources, if the Governor's program should be carried out, would go to the equipment and maintenance of the public schools and the State University, and by way of emphasis he closes that part of the discussion with these terse sentences: "I want my position on this made clear. Arkansas is able to educate her children. She cannot afford not to do it. There is nothing so cheap as education—nothing so expensive as illiteracy."

The natural resources of Arkansas which would be taxable under the proposed

system are far more extensive than is commonly supposed. Bauxite, the basic mineral from which aluminum is obtained by the modern electrolytic process, is found in Arkansas in almost unlimited deposits. A substance that has no value at all in its natural environment becomes of immense importance when transported to the reducing plants in distant States and used as the raw material of a great industry.

IMPERIAL TEXAS!

The arguments so forcefully stated by Governor McRae in application to his own State become even more apposite when transferred to the truly imperial resources of such a commonwealth as Texas, where Governor Pat M. Neff (also serving his second term) is using them to much purpose in addressing public meetings. As our grandfathers were taught from the old geographies, and as we ourselves learned in school, Texas, in point of area, far exceeds all her sister States, even California trailing along as a rather bad second. Texas, it will be recalled, is the only one of the sisterhood (if Vermont be excepted) which began her career as an independent republic. Ever since her admission to the Union (save for her four-years' excursion with the Confederacy) Texas has marched at the head of the column, glorying in her unrivalled and unapproached size. Her population, lacking at the time of the Civil War, has grown apace, but even now she can boast of only 19 inhabitants to the square mile, as contrasted with New York's 225.

When one comes to speak of the natural resources of Texas, only superlatives will serve. She has the largest sheep ranches in the world and the largest wool market. She also has the largest cattle ranches. One-fourth of the world's cotton, we are told by Governor Neff, is grown in Texas. There, too, are produced more than 100,000,000 barrels of oil every year. The State's mineral wealth is far from exhaustion. Sulphur, coal, and the precious metals are stored in great abundance under Texas soil. The reasons advanced in Arkansas for a severance tax on these raw materials of industry apply with still greater force in Texas.

Governor Neff, noting the efforts that have been and are now being made in the Carolinas to encourage the manufacture of cotton, is eager to have similar efforts made in Texas:

Above all things, cotton manufacturing should be developed in Texas, and established as one of our foremost industries. Why should we ship our three million bales of cotton a year to the New England States, and, after it is manufactured there into the finished product, ship it back to the people of Texas who grew the cotton? The Texas farmer raises a bale of cotton and sells it for a hundred dollars, and then buys it back in cloth for not less than a thousand dollars. There is no reason why Texas cotton should not be turned into finished products in Texas mills, and these products, after supplying our own demands, should go through Texas ports along our southern shores, to be carried by the ships of commerce to every harbor upon the broad seas.



PAT M. NEFF
(Texas)

In proportion to her wealth, Texas is now doing little more than Arkansas for her public schools. Last year the State paid \$15 per child for education. Comparing that sum with California's \$60 per child—and he maintains that California's resources are less than those of Texas—Governor Neff urges that the Texas system should cost at least \$50 per child—half of which should be supplied by the State and half by the local units. He would raise the State's half of this per capita sum by adopting the method proposed in Arkansas—a 5 per cent. tax on the \$180,000,000 now paid annually for the oil taken from the State.

Next to her schools (and associated with them) her highways constitute for Texas the biggest immediate problem. Think of a State with 180,000 miles of public road already built and more soon to be required! Of this vast total only 18,000 miles, or 10 per cent., are designated as State highways. The counties of Texas have voted over \$100,000,000 in highway bonds, have built 2800 miles of improved roads, and have 1800 miles under construction. There is, however, no uniformity of standards. Governor Neff bewails the fact that frequently sections of high-grade, hard-surfaced road, capable of carrying the heaviest truck traffic, lie between two sections of gravel road suited only for the lightest traffic. This is because the State itself has not supervised or controlled construction, but has left it to the counties.

The road policy of the national government, apportioning federal aid on the basis of the area of each State, has resulted in bestowing on Texas the tidy sum of \$32,000,000—far exceeding the allotment to any other State. Under this method Governor Neff estimates that out of every five dollars of federal money spent on road-building in Texas, four dollars are paid in taxes by other States. Heretofore whenever a section of road was to be built the federal appropriation was matched by county funds raised through bond issues. After 1926 the national government will insist on exclusive State authority in the construction of State road systems if the State is to receive federal aid. Unless maintenance is provided for roads already built with federal aid, such aid will be withdrawn. The Governor strongly advocates centralization of authority in the State Highway Department. This would insure the continuance of federal help in road-building and would tend to unify and perfect the State system of highways.

Governor Neff's candidacy for reelection last year was endorsed by the Ku Klux Klan, which is very strong and active in Texan politics and succeeded in electing its candidate for the United States Senate seat long held by Mr. Culbertson. Since his reelection the Governor has taken occasion to plead for better law enforcement in the State. Addressing the people of Floresville on December 30, last, he said:

The people of Texas by solemn constitutional and statutory enactment declared that intoxicating beverages should be neither manufactured nor sold anywhere in this State. In addition to this the people of the nation outlawed the age-long evils of the whisky traffic. Prohibition is now a part of the organic law of the land. Therefore there should be no division of opinion among law-abiding citizens as to its enforcement. The law must be obeyed. The bootlegger must go. He is an enemy to civilization. Our prohibition laws should be strengthened. Officers who will not enforce this law should be removed from office. Failure to enforce this law weakens all our laws. Public sentiment must swing away from the bootlegger to the side of law and order. The prohibition law should be made more effective and those charged with its enforcement should be made to perform their sworn duty or get out of office. No officer should connive with bootleggers. Our laws should be made, interpreted, and enforced by sober officers.

Referring to the large number of murders in the State, the Governor said that the criminal law should be "revivified, revitalized, and reëlectrified." Almost everything, he said, had risen in value except human life.

OKLAHOMA, OUR LAST FRONTIER

Perhaps it is not surprising that in a State where the frontier itself survived into the present century some of the customs and life of that frontier should persist even to our own day. When a new Governor was to be inaugurated at Oklahoma City in January last, it was agreed on all sides that the job should be done in true frontier spirit. All who would might come to the festivities, and welcome. Probably not a few men are now alive who have hunted wild game over the sites of the State Capitol and the State University buildings. There are still many left of the throng which "rushed" the Cherokee Strip in 1889. So

for two days in January Oklahoma City's population was doubled while the visitors partook of barbecue meat, joined in the old-fashioned dances, and otherwise made merry, according to individual preference.

The new Governor, J. C. ("Jack") Walton, former Mayor of Oklahoma City, was elected last fall by a combina-



J. C. WALTON
(Oklahoma)

tion between the Democratic party and the Farm-Labor Reconstruction League, declared by some to be an offshoot, or new development, of the North Dakota Non-Partisan League. Governor Walton's policy includes State loans to farmers' cooperative organizations, the building of a system of State grain warehouses, and the lending of public funds to individual farmers on State warehouse certificates. It is proposed that these warehouses be built of cement made by the State. He recommends that State roads be paid for by abutting land owners.

Governor Walton was born on a farm in Marion County, Indiana, became a railroad conductor and later a successful civil engineer. He began his political career as Oklahoma City's Commissioner of Public Works and later was elected Mayor. His plurality for Governor is said to have been the largest ever received in Oklahoma by a candidate for that office.

NEW MEXICO AND ARIZONA

Eleven years ago the last remaining "territories" of the Continental United States were admitted to Statehood. In 1906 Congress had decided to admit New Mexico and Arizona as a single State, subject to ratification by the people of the two territories. New Mexico voted to accept this arrangement, but Arizona refused. As finally admitted to the Union, in 1912, New Mexico at least could claim the distinction of having harbored the earliest European settlement within the borders of the present United States, while Arizona was only a few years behind. So it comes about that in the reference books Arizona and New Mexico, along with Florida, are described as having been "settled" in the Sixteenth Century — a remote age, indeed, in United States history.

Three centuries of Spanish occupation left little impress on the regions of our Southwest which had come, as one of the results of the Mexican War, under the Stars and Stripes. For the past seventy-five years both these commonwealths, which are now designated as the forty-seventh and forty-eighth States, respectively, have been under distinctly American influence. Settlement by Americans was of course retarded and never became numerically significant until the country had been connected with the North and the East by railroads. The two States have been practically built up by a single American generation.

There was a vivid illustration of this fact at the beginning of the present year when Governor James F. Hinkle was inaugurated in the ancient "Palace of the Governors" at Santa Fé, — a building at least a century older than any other State capitol — and simultaneously Gov. George W. P. Hunt of Arizona was for the fourth time inducted into office at Phoenix. Both of these men, still in middle life, have witnessed practically the entire development of the Southwest as regards the establish-

ment of law and order and all that connotes our idea of modern civilization. Both men are natives of Missouri, who early in life went out to the Southwestern border and cast in their lot with the scattered American settlements in that vast region.

Governor Hinkle was a cowboy and a cattle owner in the eighties and later became a banker. He settled at Roswell, New Mexico, and thirty years ago was elected to the Territorial Legislature, when the journey from his home to Santa Fé required five days. When he made the same trip of 200 miles last January to be inaugurated as a Democratic Governor in a "normally" Republican State, it was accomplished by automobile in eight hours. This incident of itself shows that New

Mexico has made some progress in recent years.

In his message Governor Hinkle declared for a complete change of policy in road-building, condemning the practice of building isolated sections of improved highway, without proper outlets; advocated doing away with county boards of education; and recommended the enactment of a State-

wide direct primary law, interwoven with the corrupt practices act.

Governor Hunt went out from Missouri to Arizona, also in the eighties, and for ten years was a ranchman in that sparsely settled region. Later he went into merchandising and served for many years in the Territorial Legislature. Having always been a prominent Democrat in the Territory, he was elected the first Governor of the State in 1911, was reelected, and served until 1919. After his retirement from that office the Wilson Administration appointed him Minister to Siam, where he negotiated a treaty between the two countries. He returned from Siam in 1921. Governor Hunt has taken a great interest in prison reform, and is one of the leaders of the national movement to abolish capital punishment. In his message to the Legislature he declares that the time has arrived when



JAMES F. HINKLE
(New Mexico)



GEORGE W. P. HUNT
(Arizona)

the Arizona school system should be looked upon as the most important business enterprise in which the State is engaged.

Arizona and New Mexico are two of the seven States concerned in the Colorado River Compact negotiated at Santa Fé on November 24 last. (The other five are Colorado, Nevada, California, Utah, and Wyoming.) The problems of flood control and the possibilities of irrigation and power development involved in the Government's engineering projects on the Colorado River have been described in earlier numbers of this REVIEW (see issues for June and November, 1922). Governor Hunt submits the compact to the Arizona Legislature for consideration, but makes no specific recommendation as to what course should be taken by the State.

COLORADO'S BUSINESS ADMINISTRATION

In last November's election Colorado did just what several of her neighbor States did—chose a Democratic Governor and a Republican Legislature. The successful Democratic candidate for the Governorship, the Hon. William E. Sweet, had never sought or held a public office. He was known as a successful business man, a philanthropist and an active church and Y. M. C. A. worker. Although not a politician in the ordinary sense of the word, he had taken a pronounced interest in public affairs and had trained in the progressive wing of the Democratic party, under the leadership of Bryan and Wilson. A native of Illinois, Mr. Sweet has lived forty years in Colorado. He is a graduate of Swarthmore College.

Mention has already been made of the survey of Tennessee's State business, conducted by the Bureau of Municipal Research, with a view to reorganization of the State bureaus and departments. A similar survey has been conducted by the same organization in the State of Colorado. One of Governor Sweet's first acts, after taking office in January, was to appoint a committee of business men and experts to review the report of this survey. As in other States where Governmental reorganization has been based on this type of survey, Governor Sweet's purpose in Colorado is to eliminate useless bureaus and to consolidate commissions whose functions now overlap. The Governor has also proposed that Colorado should have a legislative research

bureau, similar to that of Wisconsin and several other States.

As his contribution to the current discussion of reforms in the system of taxation, now going on in almost every State of the Union, Governor Sweet suggests an income-tax law. This had been embodied in a proposed amendment to the Colorado State Constitution and failed to carry, in Governor Sweet's opinion, because of lack of information. The Governor now states that competent authorities advise him that the Legislature has the power to pass an income-tax law without an amendment to the constitution. Governor Sweet looks upon an income tax as "the only way of protecting the honest taxpayer against the dishonest return of the unscrupulous taxpayer."



WILLIAM E. SWEET
(Colorado)

The Governor advocates the passing of a law providing for a coöperative marketing department of the State government and the building of State-owned warehouses for the storing of farm products, in order that farmers may hold their merchandise against a bad market.

One of the issues on which Mr. Sweet entered the primaries and won the nomination for the Governorship was the repeal of the Ranger Law. The Colorado "Rangers" constituted a fully equipped and officered body of State police. They had frequently been employed to supplant civil officers; and friction with the local authorities was unavoidable. Governor Sweet has recommended that this force be abolished and the enforcement of law and order committed to the sheriffs, constables, police officers and other country and city officials charged with this duty—not omitting the Governor himself as chief executive of the State, supported by the National Guard.

Governor Sweet has suggested an amendment to the Industrial Commission Law, making it obligatory upon the Commission, in adjusting wage disputes, to recognize the principle of the living wage. He insists that "where profits conflict with the payment of a living wage, the demands of capital must give way to the rights of humanity."

ECONOMY IN CALIFORNIA

That California is a great and progressive State there will be none to dispute. No part of the West is now so well known to citizens of the Middle West and the East—thanks to the continually rising tide of tourist travel, no longer confined to the winter months but covering the entire year. No other State of the forty-eight has grown so rapidly in population during recent years. In the last census decade the increase was 43 per cent. In the ten years preceding it was more than 60 per cent.

Few States outrank California in wealth. In the assessed valuation of real estate she ranks above Michigan, Wisconsin and Iowa. Her natural resources are abundant and diversified. From the days of '49 California has been known as a liberal spender; yet in the main she has spent her income, not like a drunken sailor, but for wisely-chosen objects. Towards education her people have never been known to be niggardly. Forty years ago there was no part of the United States where the country school teacher could command such a salary—really a "salary" and not mere "wages"—as in California. Munificence is the only word that describes the State's dealings with her university. State funds seemed to flow easily in educational channels.

Still those non-residents who may have thought they knew their California can hardly have been prepared for the transformation in State finance that the past ten years have brought. From a budget of \$35,000,000 to one of \$80,000,000—to a place beside Illinois and second only to New York—such is the record made since 1915. Even now 60 per cent. of the budget is for education and for purposes at least nominally related to education.

Californians, however, while they are glad to have their State at the forefront in educational progress, have for several years been more or less dissatisfied with the results obtained from the State's huge expenditures for the public schools and the university. The rapidly mounting tax rate led last year to a widespread demand for economy and retrenchment in the State finances generally, and particu-

larly, in the department of education. The standard-bearer in this taxpayers' movement was the Hon. Friend Wm. Richardson, former State Printer and State Treasurer, who entered the Republican primaries for the Governorship, pledged solely to reduce State expenditures and cut down waste in all the State departments. On this one issue Mr. Richardson carried the primaries and was triumphantly elected Governor in November. In his inaugural message he spoke particularly of the deplorable waste in the building of State highways, where it has developed that the specifications for five-inch concrete roads were so defective that the finished product is already pronounced a failure. A few weeks later the Governor sent to the Legislature a special budget message, presenting a total of \$78,974,628, for the biennial period from July 1, 1923, to June 30, 1925.

It will be recalled that in last November's election the people of California voted in favor of the State enforcement of prohibition. Pursuant to this expression of the popular will, Governor Richardson demands that every peace officer in California shall do his full duty in the enforcement of the Volstead Act, which he says will result in moral benefit to the whole State, and will also save the cities and counties, as well as the State itself,

many thousands of dollars of public money. He calls upon all good citizens, regardless of opinion, to unite in the support of the Constitution.

Governor Richardson is a native of Michigan. He came to California as a boy with his parents about forty-five years ago, and after many years' experience as a country editor, became the State Printer and was promoted from that office to State Treasurer.



F. W. RICHARDSON
(California)

TAX REDUCTION IN OREGON

Oregon's referendum vote on the law compelling attendance at public schools attracted attention throughout the country, and quite overshadowed in the news of Election Day the fact that a Governor and Legislature were chosen by the voters at the same time. The Governor elected at that time is Walter M. Pierce, a "dirt farmer" living in Eastern Oregon and a

member of the executive board of the Farmers' Educational and Coöperative Union. In his six months' campaign for the Governorship Mr. Pierce made 158 speeches and met about one-fourth of the voters of the State. In his speeches he dwelt on tax-reduction and redistribution. The Oregon farmer now pays about two-thirds of all the State taxes. Mr. Pierce therefore advocated a State income tax, in order that the owners of real estate might be partially relieved of their disproportionate burden of taxation. Upon such issues Mr. Pierce, who is a Democrat, was elected Governor by a plurality of 34,000 in a State which had 89,000 registered Democrats and 223,000 registered Republicans. He must therefore have received practically as many Republican votes as Democratic. He carried twenty-nine out of thirty-six counties. In his first message Governor Pierce emphasized the cardinal points of his program as he had enforced them in his campaign speeches. He recommended specific reductions in State appropriations, and asked for a general revision of the system of taxation. Especially he recommended a severance tax on timber. In order to secure uniformity in the assessment of property in different counties, the Governor asks that the State tax commissioner be given power to supervise local assessments.

The highway situation in Oregon gives the new Governor grave concern. During the past



W. M. PIERCE
(Oregon)

six years Oregon has become the heaviest bonded State in the Union, when wealth and population are considered. She has issued one-tenth of all the bonds for highway construction in the United States. The State now has an unpaid highway commission, giving part time to the State. Governor Pierce recommends that there be provided a commission of three members, devoting their entire time to highway work under the direction of the Governor, and receiving fair compensation for their services.

THREE MOUNTAIN STATES

Idaho, Wyoming and Nevada elected Governors last fall and have held legislative sessions since January 1. In Idaho the Republicans nominated and elected as Governor a successful farmer in the irrigation district of the State, Mr. Charles C. Moore. The chief issue of the campaign was the direct primary. After several years of trial the last legislature had repealed the State primary law, and the Republicans endorsed that action. United States Senator Borah favored the reenactment of the primary law, and campaigned in the State with that object. In spite of this fact, Moore was successful in the election, but in the Legislature there were enough Democrats and Progressive Republicans to pass a direct primary bill, which Governor Moore promptly vetoed. State legislation, including appropriation bills, was necessarily held up for many days by the Legislature's



WILLIAM B. ROSS
(Wyoming)



CHARLES C. MOORE
(Idaho)



J. G. SCRUGHAM
(Nevada)

action. Like the Governors of California and Oregon, Governor Moore is pledged to retrenchment in State expenditures and to reorganization of the State departments.

William B. Ross is the third Democrat to be elected Governor of Wyoming during the State's history. He is a native of Tennessee, and has practiced law at Cheyenne for about twenty-two years. He enters office pledged to enforce the prohibition law, and has asked the Legislature to enact additional provisions for enforcement. Governor Ross recommends the enactment of a law providing for the loaning to the farmers and ranchmen of Wyoming a large percentage of the money coming into the State

treasury from oil royalties paid for the use of State land.

Governor James G. Scrugham, of Nevada, has been Professor of Mechanical Engineering in the University of Nevada and State Engineer. In his inaugural message he advocated the abolition of the State Highway Department and the creation of a Board of Public Works as a substitute, with the State Engineer as Chief Highway Engineer; a classified system of taxation instead of ad valorem taxation; a two-cent tax upon gasoline, and a forty-day legislative session. As State engineer, Colonel Scrugham had an active part in the negotiations that resulted in the Colorado River Compact.



THE COLORADO RIVER, IN WHICH SEVEN STATES ARE INTERESTED—ARIZONA, CALIFORNIA, COLORADO, NEVADA, NEW MEXICO, UTAH AND WYOMING

(On November 24, last, representatives of these seven States signed a compact "to provide for the equitable division and apportionment of the use of the waters of the Colorado River system; to establish the relative importance of different beneficial uses of water; to promote interstate comity; to remove causes of present and future controversies; and to secure the expeditious agricultural and industrial development of the Colorado River basin, the storage of its waters and the protection of life and property from floods." For purposes of apportionment of water the compact establishes an "Upper Basin," whose waters naturally drain into the Colorado River system above Lee Ferry—in Arizona, a few miles below the Utah line—and a "Lower Basin," whose waters drain into the Colorado below Lee Ferry. After this compact has received the assent of the seven State Legislatures and of the National Congress, it will go into effect)

GEORGE E. ROBERTS

Interpreter of the Underlying Principles of Business—Economics
Applied to Current Problems in Terms of Common Sense

BY ALBERT SHAW

CRITICAL times have a fashion of seeking and finding men who have been getting ready. If Alexander Hamilton had not been a politician or a soldier, he would nevertheless have made his mark upon the period in which he lived, because he saw more clearly than almost anyone else that this country, for its unity and for its recovery from the chaos of the Revolution, must have sound money, a good banking system, and a thoroughly solvent and responsible Government. Whether or not he was conducting the business of the Treasury Department, he would have had immense influence. Not only had he formed correct opinions, but also he knew how to express his views in such a way as to carry conviction, and he was impelled to effort by a sense of public duty.

Similarly, Benjamin Franklin, with his rich endowments of talent, had through long experience as a printer and editor formed the habit of imparting wisdom to his fellow citizens. We lived through some painful periods of inflation, depression, and panic, in the half-dozen decades previous to our Civil War, and there were sharp differences about banks and currency, but the principles at stake were not so vital. The country was on a sound basis, and it was methods rather than principles that were in dispute. Sectionalism and the slavery question overshadowed everything else in public discussion, with politics and ethics diverting attention from the underlying economic problems.

But, when the Civil War was over, there arose one after another a series of questions affecting public policy which involved economic principles, with nothing to distract the public mind. It was not until 1878 that we resumed in the full sense a sound specie basis for our monetary system, after the paper money inflation of the Civil War period. The struggle for sound money

as against fiat paper money was no slight affair. Greenbackism was a powerful movement—especially in the States of the Mississippi Valley—for a number of years after John Sherman as Secretary of the Treasury had resumed specie payment.

Then came the free-silver movement, reaching its climax in the McKinley-Bryan campaign of 1896. The difficulties due to our lack of a currency system that should be elastic as well as sound continued until the Federal Reserve act was made a law about ten years ago.

Our financial historians of the future will not fail to dwell at length upon the striking and fortunate circumstance that we had passed the Federal Reserve act, organized the series of reserve banks, signed up the national banks and many of the State banks as members, and put the system into working shape, just as the European war was about to subject the credit systems of the world to an unprecedented shock. The reactions following the war have created economic situations that require distinct treatment, and that can be solved only in the light that may be thrown upon them by knowledge, experience, and the application of sound principles. It is not strange that a variety of financial vagaries and economic fallacies should again have found advocates in one quarter or another, since we have lately experienced the inevitable sag, after the ballooning of prices and currencies that accompanied the European conflict.

Back to the Lincoln Method

The men who, upon the whole, can best answer the questions that have been arising in new forms are those who have prepared themselves by previous study, and who have formed the habit of expounding for the benefit of others the diagnoses that they have made for their own satisfaction. And among those fitted to guide the country

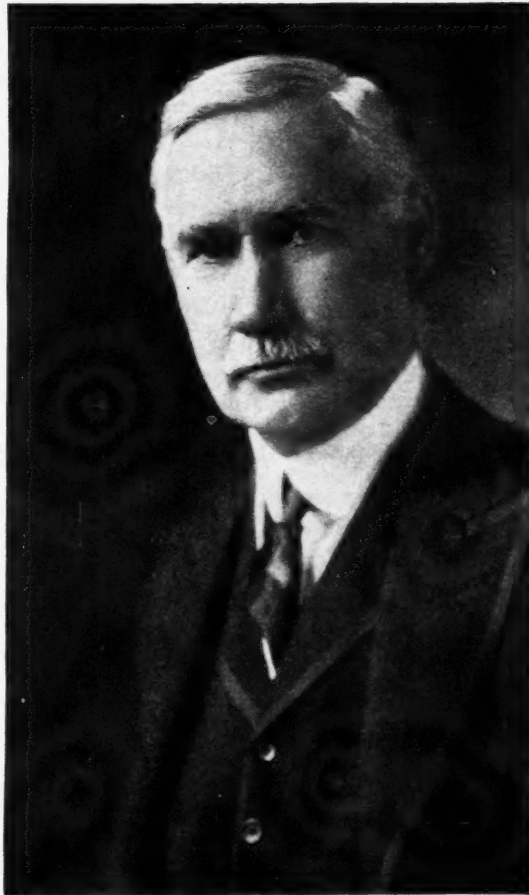
wisely in its attempt to understand principles, in order that it may apply economic wisdom to practical affairs, there is perhaps no man so influential behind the scenes as George E. Roberts, formerly identified with the State of Iowa but in recent years a citizen of New York.

If Mr. Roberts wields such influence without great publicity of the kind that puts Henry Ford's name on the front page every day, it is not because his methods are hidden and obscure, nor is it because he chooses to manipulate public opinion or to pull wires anonymously from an office in Wall Street. Mr. Roberts is as frank and open in his statements and his expressions of opinion as any person in the United States. But he is a modest man, who has always been absorbed in the work he was doing rather than in himself. He was teaching his neighbors and his fellow citizens how to avoid fallacies in their thinking about public questions, from the time he became of age.

But as the years went by he became rather a teacher of teachers, and a mentor and guide for those in public place, than one who aimed in his own name to sway the multitudes. He might have acquired as great a hold upon the Western imagination as Mr. Bryan ever secured, if he had chosen to adopt platform speaking as his profession, with a view to gaining elective office. He chose a wholly different method, and one that proved even more influential, though it did not achieve personal notoriety. If he had debated issues, his would have been the Lincoln method of logical analysis, while Bryan used the Douglas method of practical and fervid oratory.

The Free-Silver Campaign

To give pertinence to these allusions, let us at once revert to the campaign of 1896. Mr. Bryan for about two years had been constantly speaking for free silver throughout the West and South. This talking campaign, though assiduous, was not much noted in the newspapers. There was a powerful association of silver-mine owners



MR. GEORGE E. ROBERTS

and their friends, which had undertaken to secure the free opening of the mints to silver at the time-honored ratio of sixteen to one. Mr. Bryan expounded the views of this organization. But it was not his speeches during that period which created the intense feeling that arose throughout the West and South, and that bade fair to sweep the country.

Mr. Bryan was eloquent, but he was not an expert in monetary science. A little book had appeared that was sold by the millions of copies, and that had a hundred times more influence than Mr. Bryan in creating silver sentiment. This was termed "Coin's Financial School." The free-silver organization caused this book to be circulated everywhere, and it made disciples by the hundreds of thousands for

free coinage. The silver movement was already becoming dominant in Congress; and it was more than possible—it was highly probable—that a Democratic candidate on a free-silver platform would carry the country in 1896.

An Iowa Editor as a Guide in Economics

At that time George E. Roberts was a country editor in Iowa. His paper was the *Fort Dodge Messenger*. He was born in Iowa in 1857, and had gone to work at the printer's trade when he was sixteen. Not to linger upon biographical details, he came into ownership and control of this Fort Dodge weekly paper when he was twenty-one years old. That was the year when Secretary Sherman actually put the country back upon a gold basis. James B. Weaver of Iowa, among other leaders, at that time and for several years afterwards was strongly advocating paper money; and the Greenback party had flared up and was sweeping Iowa and adjacent States like a prairie fire. Every country editor in those States had to take sides, and was under stress and strain to deal with questions of monetary science, theoretical and practical, to the best of his ability.

George E. Roberts, although his routine of school life had ended at the age of sixteen, was a student by nature, and he continued to be a student by diligent effort. He acquired the best books in the fields of money, banking, and finance. And he soon demonstrated a remarkable power of analysis and a gift for lucid statement. Few people whose memories and whose experience do not take them back to those times and to those Western scenes, can now-a-days well imagine how intense and how continuous in that period was the discussion of economic problems and their application to public policy. Among the young men of Iowa, in newspaper offices, in lawyers' offices, in the legislature, and otherwise in politics, George Roberts was soon recognized as one of the very best thinkers and students.

After a few years he had converted his weekly paper into a daily, and its editorial views were widely quoted. He was sent to the State Republican conventions, and before long it was his pen that drew the party planks as they dealt with national problems, particularly with those having to do with banking, currency, tariff, and the like. He had become a man of influence.

Roberts Answers "Coin" Harvey

So it happened that, when the organized silver movement was upon the point of carrying elections and of giving effect to its proposals, the attention of George Roberts was called to the fact that "Coin's Financial School" was being sold on every train, distributed at schoolhouse meetings, read in hundreds of thousands of homes. The prices of farm products at that time were pitifully low. The Western farmers were heavily in debt. They did not wish to repudiate, but they wanted fair play. They were told that the free coinage of silver would enhance the price of their corn, wheat, hogs and cattle, and help them meet their mortgages. Honest farmers came to see George Roberts to ask him what he had to say about the arguments presented by Harvey, the author of the "Financial School."

An answer was wanted, not merely by neighbors accustomed to follow George Roberts' views in the *Fort Dodge Messenger*, but by Sound Money committees in Chicago, New York, and elsewhere. Mr. Roberts took a few days off, and wrote a pamphlet dissecting Harvey's book and answering it. Other people attempted to perform a similar service for the Sound Money committee in Chicago, which was offering some inducement for a telling and convincing reply.

The Roberts manuscript was promptly selected as the best, and it soon appeared as a little book that was circulated by the millions. It was used through the fateful months that preceded the election of November, 1896; and Mr. McKinley carried the country on a sound-money platform. I am inclined to the opinion that no other individual contributed as much to turn the scales in that campaign as did our modest country editor in Iowa.

The foremost Western banker at that time was Lyman J. Gage of Chicago. Mr. Gage was a man of great independence of mind. He was not a politician. He was as keenly concerned for the welfare of farmers and working men as he was for the business success of the largest depositors in his Chicago bank. President McKinley named this financier as Secretary of the Treasury. Gage wanted to be surrounded in Washington by younger men who could help in the great work for the country's financial and economic welfare that he

was hoping to promote through the administration of the Treasury Department.

Thus, among others, Mr. Gage had chosen Frank Vanderlip, who had made his way as a Western country boy to a good education and to an editorial place of importance as a financial writer and expert. In due time Mr. Gage also decided that George E. Roberts would be of great use in Washington, and that he might well hold the office of Director of the Mint. This indeed is a position that might have been passably filled by an office-seeker of personal probity and intelligence, even if he were not an economic scholar or a technical expert. But it was also a post that afforded exceptional opportunity for a man of the training and capacity of George E. Roberts.

Becomes Director of the Mint Under McKinley and Roosevelt

A Director of the Mint who is not playing politics or seeking social diversion may, in due time, become recognized as one of the highest authorities of the world in respect to the production of the precious metals, their price and distribution, their uses for various purposes, and particularly their character and stability as furnishing standards of value. Furthermore, the Director of the Mint has an opportunity to be closely associated with other high officials of the Treasury Department, and the heads of various permanent bureaus, as well as with leading men in Congressional committees. Thus he may be assisting all the time in the shaping of the financial and economic policies and the administrative methods of the Government, particularly as these are related to currency, banking, and matters affecting public revenues.

Contributes to the Formation of the Federal Reserve System

The banking system of the United States has always been inseparably connected with the problems of money and currency; and Mr. Roberts has been a life-long student of all that pertains to the public and private functions of banks. He was one of the earliest advocates of the plan of a central bank or an association of banks that would unify credit and control issues of currency. In due time, following the efforts of the Aldrich Monetary Commission, Congress established the Federal Reserve System in 1913.

So profound a change in our banking

ideas and methods could not have been brought about unless the studies of many men had converged; and unless the new system had secured the support of the political leaders of both great parties as well as that of bankers and business men. Nevertheless, there are few men who are so well entitled to credit for a clear analysis of the problem, and a true vision of the proper steps to be taken, as Mr. Roberts.

Three Years as a Chicago Bank President

This agitation for a central bank of issue, or for its equivalent in the form of a unified control of currency and credit functions, began with a few voices crying in the wilderness, so to speak. The panic of 1907 was a bankers' affair, and it was due entirely to the lack of a proper banking system. Mr. Roberts, who had been holding an office in Washington that was not political but technical and expert in its nature, had gained the confidence and esteem of the banking profession, which was trying to work its way out of chaos to a solid place, so that it could serve the business interests of the country. Mr. Roberts was invited to take the presidency of the Commercial National Bank of Chicago, and he held that position—after nine years at Washington—during the years from 1907 to 1910. The Aldrich Monetary Commission, which studied banking and currency problems at home and abroad, had the constant aid and support of Mr. Roberts through those years.

Again Director of the Mint Under Taft and Wilson

It was something of a task to convert the bankers themselves to an understanding of the advantages that must accrue from a centralized system. The press and the country had to be educated; and Congress in turn had to shake off the political prejudices that had survived from the struggles of the Jackson-Van Buren period, when the old Bank of the United States was sacrificed and the Sub-Treasury system established. In 1910, Mr. Roberts returned to Washington at the invitation of Mr. Taft, and became a member of the Administration's financial group, again from the standpoint of his old office as Director of the Mint.

He continued in office for some time under Mr. Wilson's Administration, while Secretary McAdoo and leaders in Congress like Mr. Glass were shaping the Federal

Reserve act, securing its passage, and putting it into effect. Mr. Roberts rendered valuable aid to his associates, regardless of party; but his work at Washington had been completed.

Comes to the National City Bank of New York

Several years before this period, Mr. Vanderlip, who had been an Assistant Secretary of the Treasury under Lyman J. Gage for four years, had entered active business life as an official of the National City Bank in New York. In 1909 Mr. Vanderlip had become president of this bank, and in 1914 he persuaded his old friend and associate, George E. Roberts, to take the position of assistant to the president. This was an office especially created, in order to make available to the bank and to the country the peculiar services that Mr. Roberts was better fitted to render than any other man who could have been found.

The National City was larger than any other American banking institution in its assets and its operations. The Federal Reserve System had relieved such a bank from some of the former conditions which had restricted its functions; and it was now free to enter upon a greatly broadened career of usefulness to the industry and commerce of the nation. The National City Bank had begun to issue a monthly *Bulletin*, dealing with practical economic questions and conditions. Mr. Vanderlip himself had been an editor and writer, and he realized how important, not only to bankers, but also to manufacturers, merchants, transportation men, public officials, editors of newspapers, and writers for financial and commercial pages of the daily press, might be a monthly summary that should utilize in the best possible way the sources of information and of opinion that were accessible to a great New York bank.

Editor of the Bank's Monthly Bulletin

Mr. Roberts has now for several years been one of the vice-presidents of the National City Bank, and for almost a decade he has been the sole editor and chief writer of the monthly *Bulletin*. His experience has familiarized him with the technical matters that relate to the profession of banking, and to the financial operations of governments and of large business enterprises. But there are many men of affairs who, though well trained in these technical methods, have a mental equipment that is

deficient in two things in which Mr. Roberts is proficient. These two things are, first, an understanding of the economic principles that underlie the material structure of our present-day civilization. These have to do with the processes of production and distribution, the functions of money and banks, of railroads, of markets, of foreign exchange, of government control, and so on. The second of these ingredients of knowledge has to do with the application of principles to current facts; that is to say, the true interpretation of things that are happening everywhere, in order that men may be guided wisely in their practical decisions.

Mr. Roberts as an Economic Educator

Thus Mr. Roberts studies the agricultural crisis in all its bearings. He applies his trained intelligence to such vital issues as the railroad question and the coal question. He analyzes the European complications as regards taxation and international debts. He follows world movements in particular industries or products, such as steel, copper, cotton, oil, coal and rubber.

It is the aim of the *Bulletin* to be brief, accurate, altogether lucid, and as free as possible from needless technicalities. Nothing else of the kind has ever been so successful, both in its intrinsic character, and in the influence it has attained. Without any self-consciousness in the matter, Mr. Roberts in spite of himself had actually become our foremost economic educator. All the professors of political economy and finance in all the colleges and universities of the country were constantly using his interpretations. The financial writers and the editors of all the daily newspapers were relying upon the clear intelligence of the *Bulletin*, and never doubting its honesty of purpose and its public spirit. All bankers of professional standing, seeing the need of comprehending current events in their broader bearings, were diligent readers of the *Bulletin*, which from modest beginnings has found itself circulating more than 200,000 copies a month.

Projects a Series of Popular Booklets

It is obvious enough that publishers would have invited a man like Mr. Roberts to write a treatise or a text-book. But there was forming in Mr. Roberts' own mind a conception of something having an educational character, but more direct and specific in the service it could render to practical

business men, younger and older alike, than the authorship of one more treatise, where already so many good ones are available. He believed that now, after the Great War, we had come into a period where business executives and men of affairs should hold convictions resting upon basic principles.

The world's economic life was badly shattered. Before the war, all countries were doing business with sound money that recognized the gold standard. But to-day the United States among the nations stands almost alone in its maintenance of a redeemable currency. Fantastic proposals are in the air; and agricultural depression has once more invited the spread of false doctrines and the advocacy of fallacious remedies.

Mr. Roberts believed that he might compress, in a series of small volumes, the best thinking of trained minds in relation to the problems of our time. To study thoroughly his series of hand-books, some two dozen in number, taking them consecutively, and making each one the basis for further inquiry, discussion, and correspondence, was to result in giving the business man of normal intelligence an almost invaluable guide to the forming of wise judgments. It was to supply the ability to measure and interpret the complicated movements of our own time. Mr. Roberts was content to leave to others the writing of practical books, and the conducting of correspondence courses that should teach the technique of business as such, or the details and methods of particular lines of production or commerce.

It was his object, rather, to deal with those questions that concerned business and citizenship broadly; and that ought to be understood, not only by business executives, but by labor leaders, and by all who would like to think rightly in the sphere of vital issues where political action affects economic well-being. It was not enough for Mr. Roberts merely to conceive of doing such a thing. With his systematic industry and his power of concentration, he has proceeded to give his project reality.¹

The twenty-four booklets are, considered individually, little masterpieces of clear presentation. Taken in sequence, the reader has a growing sense of their cumulative wisdom. Not to name them all by titles, it may be said that they lead from a description of primary industries to the economics of

manufacturing, transportation, and marketing. They define and explain the functions of capital and of business organization, and the financing of production. They deal with the problems of cost and of price movements; with monetary systems; with banking and credit; with foreign exchange; with the ups and downs of panics and depressions; with the principles that regulate interest rates; with land and its values; with wages, labor problems, and labor movements, with taxation, and finally with economic progress and methods of study.

It would have been much easier for Mr. Roberts to have written or edited comparatively large monographs than to have brought his booklets down to an average of perhaps sixty pages. But he believed the brief statement that could be read quickly, and reread as occasion might arise, was best adapted to the object he had in view. The newspapers and the periodicals always furnish ample illustrative material, bearing upon economic life and problems. What the business man needs is the brief setting forth of principles to guide his thinking, as practical matters are presenting themselves.

Resourceful on the Platform

As a lecturer and speaker, Mr. Roberts is in great demand at meetings of bankers' associations, business organizations, chambers of commerce, and groups of political scientists and economists. He is not controversial in his methods, nor is he persuasive by use of mere platform artifices for swaying audiences. He is content to give to his hearers the results of his study and thought, and he convinces others because he has first convinced himself.

If a man has never learned how to observe accurately and to think intelligently, the mere fact of having lived in the world for a long time will add almost nothing to his ability to enlighten his contemporaries of a later generation. But, for a real understanding of the movement of things in a country like ours, the man of long experience, other things being equal, has marked advantages as a teacher. More than forty years ago Mr. Roberts was in the very thick of intense political and economic discussion relating to money, tariffs, railroads, agriculture, capital and labor, governmental relation to business corporations, principles and methods of taxation, public lands, immigration, and various other topics of the day. He was making himself influential as an

¹ Economics for Executives. Twenty-four reading units. Published by the American Chamber of Economics, 30 Irving Place, New York.

honest and serious student of all that pertained to the material progress and the general welfare of the American people.

It was of great advantage to have lived through that period of growth in the Middle West. It was also of marked advantage in later years to have lived and worked in such centers of influence as Washington, Chicago, and New York. In all the history of the world there has been nothing to compare with the economic development of the United States in the half century since George E. Roberts began to work in a newspaper office. Men of his type, possessing sound minds in sound bodies, accumulate knowledge and wisdom by their contact with affairs. They do not live in the past; but their immense background of experience enables them to grapple with present problems, and to foresee the course of things with a prescience that commands and receives the deference of younger men.

There is no sign of flagging or of weariness in Mr. Roberts' presentations. A certain poise of judgment and serenity of temper are evident in every speech he makes and every article he writes, and are conspicuous

in the twenty-four volumes which sum up the principles upon which the economic achievements of our epoch are based. With Mr. Roberts, as with Mr. Frank Simonds in another field of exposition, clear thinking and thorough study go far to explain the successful results. Things that have often been made too difficult or abstruse for the general reader become not only intelligible but attractive and even entertaining when Mr. Roberts uses his trick of common-sense language in presenting economic facts and issues.

Nothing could better show how true this is than the reading of Mr. Roberts' *Bulletin* for March, in which special and technical aspects of this year's price movements at home and abroad are discussed in such a way as to make them not only of value for practical purposes but educational in a high sense. Every phase of Mr. Roberts' own previous experience seems to have contributed indispensibly to his stock of knowledge, and to have enhanced the power that he calls into use for the treatment of matters at stake in this new period of economic life that is more intricate than any of its predecessors.

CAPITAL LEVIES IN EUROPE

BY ALZADA COMSTOCK

[The material for this terse summary of European levies on capital to date has been collected by Miss Comstock through personal researches in Europe. Miss Comstock is the author of "State Taxation of Personal Incomes," Columbia University, 1921, and of other articles on taxation.—THE EDITOR]

IN THE last few weeks of 1922 fresh proposals for capital levies were heard in Europe. The successes of the British Labor party in the November elections gave a stimulus to the revival of the party's war-time agitation for a tax on capital, and in Switzerland a proposal for a capital levy law shook the financial foundations of the country before it was defeated in a referendum early in December.

The capital levy is one of the many financial expedients of the reconstruction period which would have seemed both eccentric and unnecessary eight years ago. With the exception of Italy, the countries which have adopted it have been in such straits since the close of the war that they have looked over the brink of financial ruin even where they have managed to keep from slipping in. Germany, Austria, Hungary,

and the new states which have emerged from the Austro-Hungarian Empire have fallen upon this device with one accord as a way in which they can scrape the very bottoms of their purses.

A capital levy law is produced in this wise: a Minister of Finance who finds the national exchequer completely bare and the war aftermath of debt an unendurably heavy burden, proposes or accepts the proposal of a non-recurrent levy on capital. The details of the bill must be worked out in such a way that they offer hope of reaching one of the few sources of funds which are not already exhausted—the wealth of the large property-owners. Accordingly most of these measures provide for a steeply graduated tax on all property in individual hands above a certain exemption limit. They also specify a date for the

valuation of property and allow payment of the tax to be spread over a term of years.

At this point the trouble really begins. If the levy is general in its application, the owners of securities are almost sure to become convinced that they are disproportionately taxed and to argue that the country's business is being handicapped at a time when it is in need of every possible encouragement. If the tax is made to apply in different ways to the various classes of property, and particularly if it falls with any weight upon real estate, the land-owners regard it as the last and the unendurable straw in a system which has already made land-owning an unprofitable form of enterprise.

The Capital Levy To-day

The present status of the capital levy in Europe is a curious one. The plan plainly runs counter to the general approval of the income tax as the best guide to individual taxable capacity, and even to the maintenance of safeguards around the institution of private property. Italy and the Central European countries have leapt these hurdles and have plunged headlong into the experiment. The levying of their heavy taxes has been accomplished to the tune of a general uproar, it is true; but it is an uproar that can hardly be distinguished from the tumult which greeted the extension of some of the older and more conventional taxes. France and England have taken the other course, and have struggled through the first years of reconstruction without resorting to so questionable an innovation. Perennially, however, some one has misgivings, and the whole argument is gone over again.

Revival of Interest in England

In England the Labor party's support of a levy on capital gave a flash of interest to an election otherwise none too clear-cut. The British exponents of the tax have never intended to use it for current expenses. To them it is a natural and logical expedient for reducing the burden of the national debt, and it is as such that the plan has been revived. Those who live near the days of the war, they say, should make the larger contributions toward reduction of the war debt, especially since many of them have profited directly from it. Meanwhile, financial opinion as expressed in the *Statist* lines up solidly against the tax as a feasible meas-

ure, whatever virtues it may seem to have in theory as an organ of justice.

The agitation for a capital levy in England is now more than six years old. The first well-known voice to be heard in its favor was that of Mr. Sidney Webb, who now sits in the House of Commons as a Labor member. In 1916 Mr. Webb published a pamphlet called "How to Pay for the War," in which he advocated a 10 per cent. tax on capital. Even by that time it was clear that Great Britain was to emerge from the war under the burden of a great national debt. Taxation along the old lines seemed to have reached its limits, and yet there was no doubt that there still remained untouched wealth in private hands. Mr. Webb's plan was to reach this wealth by a new route.

The project quickly took form as a way of taxing "war wealth," or the profits of the stay-at-homes who found the manufacture of supplies for the government financially advantageous. The strongest support came from the Labor and Socialist elements, which looked on the tax as a way of "equalizing sacrifice," as they said; that is, as the exaction of a contribution from the rich to offset the sacrifices of the poor in giving up lives and family support at the same time.

The Official Report of 1920

After the close of the war, and during the period when it seemed impossible for England to struggle along under the debt which she had incurred, the movement for a levy on war wealth reached its height. The House of Commons appointed a committee to study the matter. This committee wisely went straight to the Board of Inland Revenue, which drew up its conclusions in the form of "Memoranda on Suggested Taxation of War-Time Increases in Wealth," in the spring of 1920. Briefly, the board reported that although the taxation of war wealth would be more difficult than any other type of taxation ever attempted in Great Britain, the thing could be done; and then proceeded to suggest two detailed schemes by which it could be accomplished.

When the actual moment of decision came, however, the Chancellor of the Exchequer refused to propose the tax, and since that time the movement has not shown the same strength, although from time to time it has shown its head again. In May, 1922, during the second reading of the finance bill for the present fiscal year, the

Chancellor of the Exchequer quenched the recurring suggestion from the Labor benches and defined the grounds of his opposition. "The story of Tantalus will be reproduced," he said, "in the case of any Chancellor of the Exchequer who seeks to impose a capital levy, because the capital he seeks will disappear every time he attempts to snatch at it."

Now, however, the Labor party has had a great access of power, and it is in a peculiarly strong position if it wishes to oppose the Government's financial policy with a proposal for a capital levy. Statisticians on both sides are showing an interest in the amounts which could be obtained for application to the national debt, and it is quite possible that the capital levy plans may be linked up with the payment of amounts owed to the United States.

The Referendum in Switzerland

The story of the rise and fall of the Swiss proposal can be quickly told. The bill for a levy on capital was introduced in the autumn of 1922 by the Socialist party, which saw a tax on capital as a way of lightening the burden of taxes on the poor, and of paying national and local expenses out of the pockets of the rich. In terms the bill conformed rather closely to the capital levy laws which have been adopted in other European countries: it imposed a non-recurrent levy on the capital of individuals and corporations with an exemption of 80,000 francs. Individuals were entitled to certain other exemptions for wives, children, and household furniture and private effects. Above the exemption limit a highly progressive rate was to be employed for individuals, running from 8 per cent. on the first 50,000 francs to 60 per cent. on property in excess of 30,700,000 francs. For corporations the rate was fixed at 10 per cent. throughout. Property was to be valued on December 31, 1922, and the tax could be paid in three yearly instalments. Three-fifths of the proceeds were earmarked for the Federation and the remainder was to be divided among the cantons and the communities.

For some time before the referendum of December 3, Switzerland felt the influence of an impending upheaval. It was estimated that billions of francs of capital were transferred from Swiss banks to banks in other countries, so that it might be out of reach if the law should be passed. At the same time, gold dropped out of circulation

in some of the larger cities. The referendum showed a 7-to-1 vote against the tax, and the flow of capital back into Switzerland promptly began.

French Capital-Levy Proposals

In France the movement for a capital levy has paralleled England's agitation. In 1920 the Finance Committee of the Chamber of Deputies considered very carefully a number of plans for a capital levy, some of which had the support not only of the Socialist deputies, with whom they originated, but also of a number of deputies who represented the financial interests and who felt that a moderate tax on capital would cause the value of the franc to appreciate. They recognized the fact, however, that the French peasants' traditional independence and tenacity of property rights would make the collection of such a tax so difficult that its whole chance of success might be imperilled. Opposition also came from the Finance Minister, and the capital levy was shelved for the time.

The idea continues to bob up in France with the same pertinacity which it has shown in England. Only a few days after the British Chancellor of the Exchequer made the criticism quoted above, the French Finance Minister once more alluded to the capital levy and accounted for its omission from the taxes for 1923. He said that it must be recognized that capital was already taxed in France through the income tax and the death duties, and that heavier taxation was out of the question.

Italy's Capital Levy

The course of the controversy in England and France gives very little hint of the extent to which capital levies are actually in use in Europe. In justification of this failure to argue from analogy it may be said that Italy is the only country whose financial circumstances in any way resemble those of England and France.

Italy's capital-levy act was passed late in 1919. It was pushed through by Signor Nitti's government at a time of great political difficulty, in such a way that the impression was given that it was a move to bring about closer relationships with the more radical elements of the country. Payment of the tax is spread over a period of 20 (originally 30) years, so that it is in fact a tax which can be paid out of income. The rates run from 4.5 per cent. on property

just above the exemption of 50,000 lire to 50 per cent. on property of 100,000,000 lire or more. The date of valuation was January 1, 1920. This "extraordinary levy on wealth," as it was called, was accompanied by a heavy tax on increments of capital gained during the war.

Naturally the tax was not popular. The financial interests objected to it as a substitute for a tax on income, and the Socialists criticized it because it was less onerous in its application than the form of capital levy which they had originally supported. But the law has remained in force, with occasional changes, for three years. The yield of the tax for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1923, is estimated at 3.8 per cent. of the total net revenue (excluding reparations). For the preceding fiscal year the figure is 4.4 per cent. It is estimated that considerably more than one-half of the tax is paid by the owners of securities and other personal property, and that the proportion of people who are dependent upon agriculture for their livelihood, who pay the tax, is very small.

The German Emergency Levy

Germany's capital levy has a somewhat different history. It was forced through, not so much because of political considerations of the type which accompanied the passage of the measure in Italy and which keep the project alive in England and France, although they doubtless had an effect, but as a final unwelcome resort in a great national emergency. The tax was appropriately called the "Sacrifice for the Empire's Need" (*Reichsnatopfer*) or the "Emergency Levy." Moreover, the principle of a non-recurrent levy on wealth was not a new one in Germany. Just before the war, in 1913, it had been announced that a "Defense Contribution" (*Wehrbeitrag*) was to be levied on all property and income.

The rates of the emergency levy run from 10 per cent. on the first 50,000 marks of taxable capital to 65 per cent. on taxable capital of more than 100,000,000 marks. This levy goes hand-in-hand with a non-recurrent levy on war-time increases of wealth and a tax on increases of capital since the war. The proportionate productivity of Germany's tax has been greater than Italy's. During the fiscal year 1921-'22 the emergency levy furnished 6.2 per cent. of the total net revenue of Germany.

It was estimated that it would yield even more, 7.6 per cent., in 1922-'23.

Capital Levies in the New Countries

In Austria and Hungary the utilization of levies on capital has been linked with the urgency of the national debt problem.

The changes in the value of the Austrian crown make it difficult to follow the fortunes of the capital levy, but it seems to have been fairly productive in the early months, possibly as a result of the fact that a premium was put upon early payment. For the year ending December 31, 1921, the yield was only 1,500,000,000 crowns, or less than 1 per cent. of the total net revenue.

Hungary's capital levy was the invention of an ambitious Minister of Finance, Hegedüs, who held office during the greater part of 1921. It differed from other capital levies in that it was applied, not to the taxpayer's total capital, but to various component parts of that capital, and in such a way that the burden fell heavily upon the landed classes.

Throughout the remainder of the territory which was formerly known as Austria-Hungary the capital levy is a familiar tax measure. The most prosperous of these countries, Czechoslovakia, has been using a tax on capital with a maximum rate of 30 per cent. for nearly three years. In this case, also, the tax is accompanied by a tax on war-time increases of wealth, and the proceeds are designated for the support of the currency and the reduction of debt.

The Use of the Capital Levy

The evidence which has been accumulated up to the present goes simply to show that the capital levy can be used with some degree of productivity in countries where the conventional taxes are exhausted or are grossly inadequate, and where a heavy general sacrifice seems to be the only resort. The difficulties of assessment have undoubtedly been over-emphasized, but this is understood by the English supporters of the tax, who point to the valuations made for the death duties as an example of what can be done. It is the effect upon the business life of the country which rightly forms a chief point in the argument. If the Swiss have been unduly timid in this respect they must be proved wrong by the employment of the tax in a country which is on its feet financially, for the experience of Central Europe will not suffice.



THE VALLEY OF THE TOMBS OF THE KINGS, NEAR LUXOR, EGYPT, ABOUT FOUR HUNDRED MILES SOUTH OF CAIRO

(The arrow indicates the approach to the recently found tomb of Tutankhamen, who ruled over Egypt during the most glorious epoch in the Empire's history, some 1,400 years before the Christian era. The larger opening is the entrance to the tomb of Ramses VI, long familiar to tourists. The River Nile can be seen in the background)

THE TOMB OF THE PHARAOH TUTANKHAMEN

BY HAROLD M. WEEKS

THOUGH he had prepared with astounding thoroughness for life in the Hereafter, the moment of death must have been bitter for Tutankhamen.¹ He was a young man and the resources for a mighty reign lay before him. The preceding Pharaohs of his dynasty had shown him the paths to glory. One had been Egypt's Napoleon; another, the most magnificent of rulers; a third, the world's first revolutionary religious thinker. Tutankhamen longed to eclipse them all, but he had to die when his task was scarce begun.

"Give me time, O Amon!" he must have cried. "Time that I may exalt Thee in all lands—that the glory of Egypt may shine forth in lands unknown."

¹Pronounced *Toot-ahnk-ah'men*, though Egyptologists often disagree on pronunciations. The hieroglyphic alphabet was composed solely of consonants. Modern students fill in vowels and fix pronunciations, being governed largely by their individual opinions.

It is pleasing to fancy that perhaps he received prophetic assurance. Indeed, he has been given time—3,300 years of it—and could he know the wonder and admiration with which the world now regards his tomb, perhaps he would rest content.

But, as he was not a relatively great Pharaoh, many people are at a loss to know why his tomb is so richly freighted with splendor, or why archaeologists evince more interest in this than other royal tombs. There are two chief reasons: Tutankhamen was heir to the accumulated riches of those mighty Pharaohs who first made Egypt a world empire, and his is the only royal tomb yet found that has not been plundered extensively by robbers since ancient times.

Tombs have been our most prolific source of information on Egyptian history, chiefly because Egyptians believed they could lay up treasures in Heaven. They thought a

man would not get along in the Hereafter unless he took with him the things he was accustomed to in every-day life. So they put these things, or models or pictures of them, in his tomb. Even the body was mummified, in order that the owner might have it for future use.

Thus the tombs were filled with graphic illustrations of Egyptian life. Men often boasted of their deeds on the walls of their tombs, but always there were religious texts and magic formulæ to guide and protect the dead in future life.

In the form of the pyramid the tomb attained its mightiest proportions. The great pyramids at Gizeh, near Cairo, were built from 2900 to 2750 B.C. during the height of what was known as the Old Kingdom. But during the Middle Kingdom the nobles gained more power; and one man, Pharaoh though he was, could no longer lavish the entire productive effort of the nation upon his tomb. The imperial conquerors of the Eighteenth Dynasty, to which Tutankhamen belonged, gave up building pyramids. It was seemingly impossible to make these massive landmarks robber-proof, so the kings began to cut their tombs in solid rock cliffs surrounding a desolate little valley more than four hundred miles up the Nile and two miles west of the stream.

This Valley of the Kings' Tombs was near Thebes, the capital of the empire, the modern suburb of which is Luxor. The kings of the Eighteenth, Nineteenth, and Twentieth Dynasties caused their sepulchers to be chiseled in its cliffs of sun-burned limestone. Every effort was made to conceal the tombs, and the mortuary temples were removed to the flats of the Nile so as not to reveal the king's final resting-place. Yet more than forty of these valley tombs have been found by archaeologists. All, with the exception of Tutankhamen's, had been ruthlessly pillaged; and that is the reason why the opening of this tomb has attracted so much attention.



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LORD CARNARVON AND HIS DAUGHTER, WITH HOWARD CARTER (RIGHT), AT THE ENTRANCE TO THE TOMB OF TUTANKHAMEN

*The Message to Howard Carter:
"Find Tutankhamen!"*

Howard Carter, the man who found Tutankhamen's tomb, is an Englishman, although press dispatches from Luxor have frequently called him an American. Up to the time of his big discovery he was virtually unknown to the general public. The last edition of the British "Who's Who" does not even mention his name. Yet he has been excavating in Egypt for more than thirty years.

But through those thirty almost fruitless years he maintained the calm determination that was the seed of great achievement. He knew how heavy were the odds against him. Not only had the robbers thousands of years headstart, but, when old Egypt was trembling before invaders, her priests took from their tombs the mummies of many Pharaohs and hid them in a rock shaftway, where they were found in 1881. Year after year other excavators found royal tombs, thus diminishing Carter's chances, for Tutankhamen's was the only important tomb in the valley left undiscovered.

Yet the description of the glories of an unplundered royal tomb contained in an

ancient papyrus record at the Turin museum, heartened the indefatigable searcher. He resolved to remove the rubbish from every square foot of the valley not previously excavated; but the scheme called for vast funds which Carter did not have, so he went to Lord Carnarvon. That English earl was a sportsman as well as an Egyptologist, which perhaps was why he consented to stake his money on the hundred-to-one shot that had consumed so many years of Carter's life.

It was eight years ago that Lord Carnarvon made it possible for Carter to carry on large-scale operations. Up to last fall those efforts had accomplished nothing but the displacement of from 60,000 to 70,000 tons of rocks and sand. Finally Carter decided the treasure he sought lay buried beneath the debris from some tomb higher up the cliffs. He began to dig below the tomb of Ramses VI. Sickness interrupted his labors; but, on returning to work this season, within one week he found the stairway leading to Tutankhamen's tomb. On November 29, 1922, Howard Carter knocked at the Pharaoh's door.

Wonders of the Tomb

On that door there was a series of unbroken seals which made the patient archaeologist's heart leap for joy. They told him the tomb had not been disturbed for thousands of years. When the eminent historian, Dr. James Henry Breasted, professor of Egyptology at the University of Chicago, inspected these seals, it was announced that "no evidence was thereby revealed of any interference with the tomb later than the reign of Harmhab."

Harmhab was Tutankhamen's successor, who founded the Second Empire and paved the way for the conquests of Ramses II. In the interval of confusion between Tutankhamen's and Harmhab's reigns, robbers did enter the tomb; but they apparently had time only to snatch up a few articles. There was no extensive plundering as in other cases. It was reported later that seals of Ramses IX also were found in the tomb, and his commissioners may have inspected it about two hundred years later.

Carter sent immediately for Lord Carnarvon, so that his generous patron might share the glory of discovery. He also sought the aid of the world's greatest Egyptologists, that the find might be of the greatest benefit to science and history.

The charges of commercialism brought against the discoverers should not be taken too seriously until the world has seen the final outcome of the undertaking. It must be remembered that this "commercialism" seemingly centers around the fact that the press news rights were sold exclusively to one newspaper.

One of the first visitors to enter the tomb was Professor Breasted. He had excavated a city in Nubia built by Tutankhamen's father-in-law, Ikhnaton, and had returned to Egypt to assemble Middle Kingdom "coffin texts."

When Dr. Breasted entered the first of the two tomb chambers, he exclaimed: "It is a sight I never dreamed of seeing—the antechamber of a Pharaoh's tomb filled with the magnificent equipment which only the wealth and splendor of the imperial age of Egypt could have wrought or conceived."

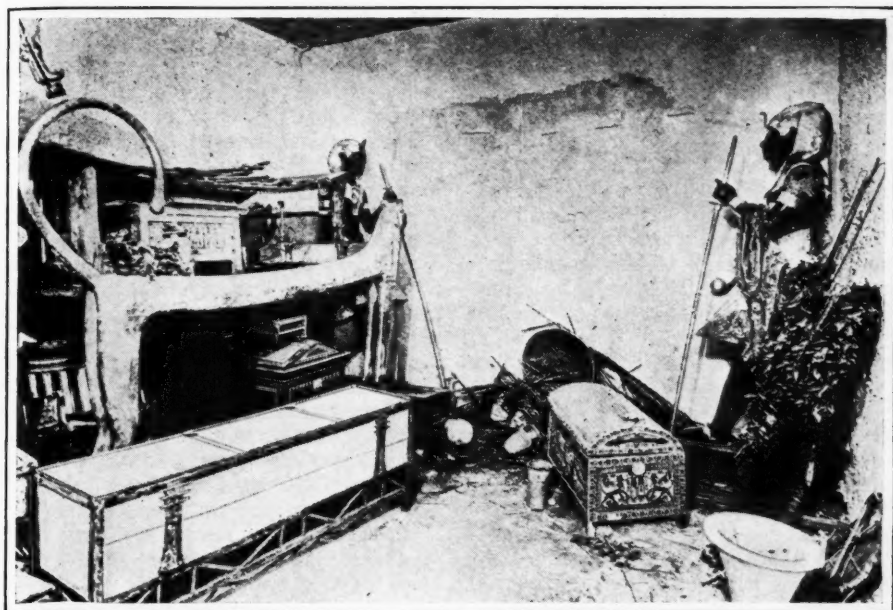
He pointed out that the mere quantity of furniture surpassed all precedent. "In quality," he continued, "it is an astonishing revelation of the beauty and refinement of Egyptian art at the culmination of its development in the imperial age, beyond anything I had imagined."

Eighteenth Dynasty—the Golden Age

This imperial age, or First Empire, now shines out as one of the world's most astounding epochs. It is needful only to point out that objects in Tutankhamen's tomb have been valued at such sums as \$10,000,000 (though it is futile to price the priceless), and then to remember that Tutankhamen was but a weak declining star compared to other brilliant Pharaohs in the Eighteenth Dynasty constellation.

Nations frequently reach their highest development following a great victory over tyranny. So it was with Egypt. The Eighteenth Dynasty was founded by men who drove out the Hyksos or Shepherd Kings, the first invaders known to have conquered Egypt. Egypt had remained unconquered for thousands of years because of her natural defenses. Although the narrow land straggled for 600 miles along the Nile, from the marshes of the delta to the foaming waters of the first cataract, it was protected against invading armies by burning deserts and barrier seas. It was island-like.

Its climate was so dry that the ancient monuments have been preserved in won-



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ANTECHAMBER OF THE TOMB AND SOME OF ITS TREASURES, WITH STATUES OF THE KING GUARDING THE SEALED DOORWAY TO THE INNER CHAMBER

(The painted wooden casket, toward the right, contained the King's robes with elaborate bead and gold work. The cover of the box pictures the King hunting wild animals, its sides show him in battle, and the ends symbolize him as a sphinx trampling on his enemies. The long wooden box, painted white with ebony veneer, held undergarments of the King, ceremonial staves of superb workmanship, and a royal mace. One of three couches is seen, on which are stacked a bed, caskets, and other objects; and under it are a chair and a casket both inlaid with ebony and ivory. The two statues of the King are carved out of wood, stained black, with gilt trimmings.)

derful condition, yet the yearly overflow of the Nile fertilized the land and caused it to bring forth bounteous crops. In the relative peace and prosperity of the valley the Egyptians were free to build up a great civilization. They levied gold from Nubia; mined copper in the thirsty peninsula of Sinai; quarried rocks for the pyramids, the temples, the obelisks and the serenely calm-faced statues of their kings. They increased the land's productivity by great irrigation projects; raised art and mechanical knowledge to an unprecedented level; and devised humane codes of government, religion, and social practice that made Egypt a safe and pleasant place in which to live.

But the Middle Kingdom collapsed in a welter of anarchy, leaving the Egyptians unable to protect themselves even with the aid of their natural defenses. The fierce Hyksos horsemen came galloping across the sands from Asia. It took the Egyptians two hundred years to drive them out, but when the task was accomplished, in 1580 B.C., peaceful Egypt had something

she never before possessed—a standing army.

The Eighteenth Dynasty Pharaohs made use of this army. Under Thutmose III it swept through Palestine and Syria. In seventeen crashing campaigns this Napoleon of Egypt extended his power in Asia as far as the waters of the upper Euphrates. So carefully did he consolidate his gains that the world was still pouring tribute into Egypt when Tutankhamen was born, which was probably at the close, or just after, the reign of Amenhotep III, the great grandson of Thutmose.

Amenhotep III was called Amenhotep the Magnificent. He was a Louis XIV of a Pharaoh, who embellished Egypt with countless beautiful buildings and monuments. He erected that mighty colonnade at Luxor which is yet one of the world's wonders; avenues of sphinxes stretched for miles before his temples; he diked up a vast artificial lake near his palace at Thebes for the pleasure of his queen. Apparently he never led an army out of Egypt, but the

Asiatic and Nubian vassals still sent rich tribute. They remembered the terrible power of his fathers, and trembled. Even the king of Babylon wrote to him in abject terms of beggary.

The First Monotheist

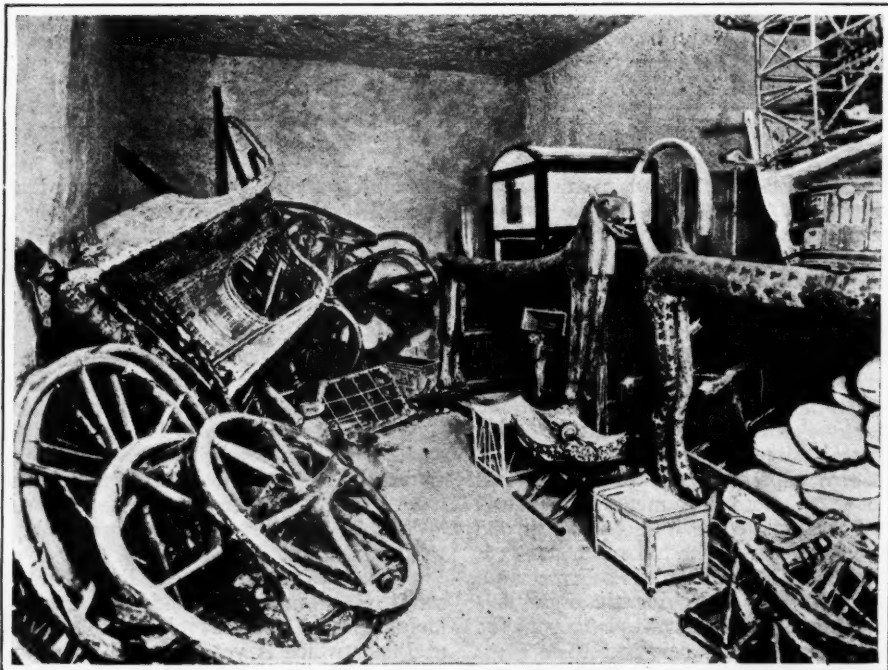
But things did not go so well for his son, Amenhotep IV, who was Tutankhamen's father-in-law, and in whose court that Pharaoh was reared. This Amenhotep's distinction lies in the fact that he is the first monotheist recorded in history. He has been called the world's first individualist, the first original thinker. The expansion of the empire broadened Egyptian thought beyond the narrow concepts of the isolated Nile Valley. The new Pharaoh became convinced that men and beasts of all lands were cared for by One Divine Intelligence.

He believed God was made manifest through the life-giving rays of the sun, so he took "Aton," the Egyptian word for the solar disk, as his name for the Divinity. The Pharaoh changed his name from Amen-

hotep to Ikhnaton, so his title might glorify Aton instead of Amon, the old official god of the state. Ikhnaton boldly denied the very existence of all gods but Aton.

These actions enraged the corrupt and wealthy priests of Amon, who formed the most powerful faction in Egypt. Old Thutmose III, the conqueror, had been one of these priests himself and he and his descendants gave them no end of property and privilege. They made things so unpleasant for Ikhnaton that he left Thebes and built a new capital near Tel el Amarna. Finally he broke their power and dispossessed them of their rich holdings. He cut the names of all gods but Aton from every public inscription, even the impersonal plural, *gods*, was obliterated.

Ikhnaton's court was a new thing in Egypt. He placed an interpretation on truth that vitally influenced art as well as religion. Painting and sculpture broke from the rigid traditions of the past. This influence continued in Tutankhamen's



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THE KING'S CHARIOTS AND HIS THRONE

(There are parts of four chariots to be seen, including wheels, poles, and bodies. The throne is under the couch in the corner, indicated by one of two gold lions' heads. It is declared to be one of the finest specimens of Egyptian art yet found, being covered with gold and silver and inlaid in relief with semi-precious stones. The object on the seat is a footstool)



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FOOD FOR THE KING'S SOUL IN THE HEREAFTER

(The white boxes under the couch contain mummified joints of meat, haunches of gazelle, trussed ducks, etc. The couch supports represent Egypt's cow goddess, Hathor, the size of these couches being indicated by the fact that they stand higher than the back of the chair at the right of the picture. In the foreground are the King's footstool of solid ebony inlaid with ivory, a small wooden box, a papyrus rush stool much decayed, and a painted red box containing woven fabrics in bad condition and some articles of jewelry. The semi-circular box on the couch is especially prized for its minute ivory inlay)

reign, and the objects from his tomb show delicate but realistic charm that approaches the achievements of the Greeks. A single instance of this was shown in Lord Carnarvon's account of his first visit to the second chamber or burial vault of the tomb. A wealth of golden ornaments and magnificent equipment lay around him, but the one thing the man could not take his eyes from was a little pink-tongued cat on the lid of a painted jar. It was so lifelike that he stood entranced.

The Reign of Tutankhamen

But while Ikhnaton thought and theologized, the empire faded away. The waxing power of the Hittites came flooding down on Syria. Treacherous Asiatic dynasts captured the cities of the Phœnician coast, nomadic bands plundered Palestine. Faithful vassals of Egypt in these regions cried to the Pharaoh for help but received none. There are indications that Ikhnaton did not believe in war. He had no sons, and when he died in 1358 B. C. the son-in-

law whom he had appointed to succeed him quickly succumbed. Tutankhamen had married another of Ikhnaton's daughters and was next in line. He probably reigned six, possibly eight, years.

Tutankhamen was at first a worshipper of Aton. The symbol of that religion—a sun disk shooting out rays which terminated in hands that were extended in blessing—was found on the throne in the antechamber of his tomb. This chair also bore his earlier name, Tutankhaton, which meant "Living Image of Aton." These vestiges of the "heretical" religion probably survived because they were inlaid in so complicated a manner that any attempt to efface them would have ruined the beautiful throne.

Tutankhamen may have fought to retain the religion of his youth. We may possibly learn something of that when the tomb is reopened next year for further examination. There is little doubt, however, that the mighty Amonite priesthood was restrained only by the powerful personality of Ikhnaton. Young Tutankhamen probably had

scarcely lifted the scepter when the demand "Recant or abdicate!" rang in his ears.

He did recant. It was then that he dropped the "Aton" ending to his name and took the title Tutankhamen, which meant "Living Image of Amon." This changing of the king's name and religion had great significance. The Pharaoh was looked upon as the living image of the god. He was a god-king and in theory he alone was worthy to worship the gods.

We should not weigh too lightly the forces that brought about Tutankhamen's backsliding. Pharaohs who worshipped Amon had conquered the world; the inventor of Aton worship lost it. The soldiers undoubtedly held with the priests; and the common people, who had worshipped scores of strange gods for many centuries, did not take kindly to Ikhnaton's idealized religion. Amon was not intolerant of other gods. Tutankhamen's change of faith, of course, restored the priests of Amon to all their former privileges and property.

Either through lack of time or ability Tutankhamen did not, so far as we know, try to win back the Asiatic empire by the warlike methods of Thutmose. Having turned his back on the idealism of Ikhnaton, his one remaining exemplar was Amenhotep the Magnificent. He apparently did his best to ape the material splendor of that monarch by lavishing the accumulated wealth of the empire on his tomb. He did not have time to cut as many chambers in the rock as did other Pharaohs, but it is doubtful if any king ever packed more precious treasures within a like space.

Although more than 150 major objects were removed this season prior to the closing of the tomb, only the outer chamber, a space 30 feet by 18, was cleared. Its adjoining compartment was left half-filled, and the inner or sarcophagus chamber and its smaller annex were practically untouched. After thirty years of waiting, one would think that Carter would hurry to take everything out, but his wonderful patience has triumphed. He is determined that the objects shall be removed no faster than they can be carefully handled and preserved.

Preservation of the Findings

One of the major objects removed was a box containing no less than 10,000 minor objects. There is seemingly no end to the scarabs, rings, jewelry, trinkets, and furni-

ture within the tomb. A single royal robe was ornamented with 3600 gold sequins. Counting all the little things, there may be a million items in the tomb.

The work of preservation is a long and delicate task. Fabrics that would crumble at a touch must be cleaned by feeble puffs from a tiny bellows. Water would destroy them. Then they must be sprayed with a solution that will strengthen and preserve. Warped and blistered wood and gold-covered plaster must be repaired; stones must be fixed in their settings and inlays fastened in place before they are moved; almost every relic must be treated to restore its original color and beauty before it can be transported. Material already removed will keep the experts busy for a long time.

It was tantalizing, however, to see the tomb closed before the great gold sarcophagus had been opened to make sure the Pharaoh was really there, even though the testimony of the seals makes his presence practically certain. The surrounding nest of gold-covered wooden canopies will have to be carefully dismantled before the sarcophagus lid can be lifted. That may necessitate enlarging the entrance to the inner tomb.

With the examination of the mummy itself the world will undoubtedly receive reliable information concerning the Pharaoh's age. But what is hoped for more than all else is that with the body, or in the coffins surrounding it, will be found some document shedding light on the historical events of Tutankhamen's time.

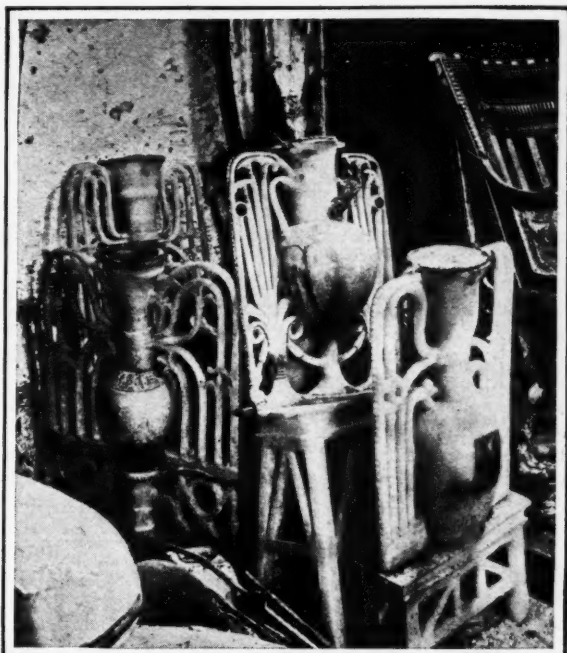
Preparation for the Egyptian Hereafter

The writings in the Pharaoh's coffins, unfortunately, are more likely to be religious and magical texts. Tutankhamen was not thinking of our curiosity, but of his own future welfare. He was preparing for the awful day when he would have to stand before the gods in the Hereafter and face the judgment of the dead. In the earlier days of Egypt men counted chiefly on right living to prepare them for this trial, during which their words would be weighed against a feather—the emblem of truth. But the priests of Amon corrupted religion by leading men to believe that certain magic formulas would insure a safe passage to fields of the blessed.

Perhaps some such official guide to the Hereafter as the "Book of the Dead" will

be found nestling close to the Pharaoh. Such a document, however, in the opinion of many, would not have the historical significance of those letters found by the New York Metropolitan Museum expedition during 1921-'23, in the tomb of a Theban named Hekanakht. This correspondence passed between a priest, who was in charge of the tomb, and his family. It was carelessly thrown aside 4000 years ago, but to-day it sheds light on the life of ancient Egypt. Dr. Caroline Ransom Williams, who is now cataloguing the Egyptian collection of the New York Historical Society, recently received a letter from one of the great German Egyptologists in which he said he was more interested in the intensely human letters from Hekanakht's tomb than in all the artistic treasure and mute splendor of Tutankhamen's resting-place.

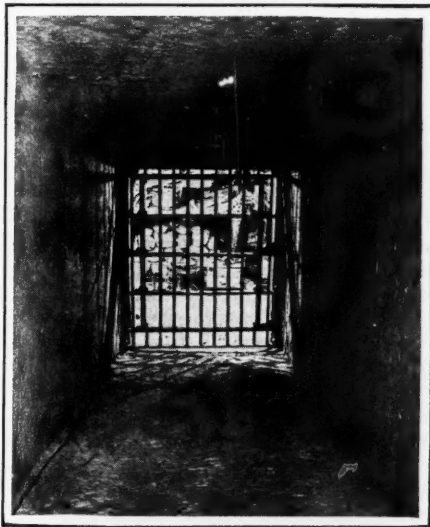
As Tutankhamen expected to take his body into the next



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FOUR ALABASTER UNGUENT VASES

(With open-work lotus and papyrus device, said to signify the binding together of the "Two Lands"—Upper and Lower Egypt. Part of the ebony and ivory inlaid chair is also seen)



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THE PASSAGE, THROUGH SOLID ROCK, WHICH LEADS TO THE TREASURE CHAMBER

(The gate was placed there by Mr. Carter to keep pilferers out. The chamber is lighted by electric lamps)

world, it is interesting to note how he provided for it. In the antechamber were found a large number of boxes containing mummified ducks, geese, joints of mutton, and cuts of beef. These were to grace his ghostly table. Near by stood two fine portrait statues of the king. The Egyptians believed the animating force or "ka," that had been in Pharaoh's body before death, could enter such statues and then walk right through a false door in the solid wall of the tomb. Thence it would supposedly wander to the mortuary temple where every day the priests prepared food and offerings for their dead lord.

The endless paraphernalia within the tomb were also for the use of the dead. Many of the objects were marvelously inlaid with lapis lazuli, carnelian, and other semi-precious stones or with superb imitation in glass of gem-stones. There were gilded couches and other cunningly wrought furniture, vases of intricately carved alabaster, gleaming wares of blue faience, cedar-of-Lebanon boxes, sandals of gold, models of royal barges, cosmetic jars,

bouquets of flowers, even a dummy on which to adjust the royal wigs and a little baby glove the Pharaoh wished to carry into eternity as a keepsake.

There has been speculation as to whether Tutankhamen was the Pharaoh of Exodus. As his gem-studded chariots were found in the tomb instead of at the bottom of the Red Sea, and as he is seemingly with his chariots, this does not seem probable. No Egyptian discovery would be complete, however, unless the identity of the ancient oppressor of the Jews was dragged into the controversy.

One of the great values of the discovery is that it fixes the period of the many objects hitherto found, and by comparison establishes the approximate date of some exhibits of uncertain age that are already in the museums.

Americans Who Aided Carter

No sooner had Carter laid his eyes on the riches of the tomb than he knew he had more than he could attend to. Among those whom he called to for aid were A. C. Mace, H. E. Winlock, and other members of the expedition sent out by the Metropolitan Museum of Art. It is generally conceded that these Americans have no superiors in the arts of preservation and reconstruction. They responded unhesitatingly and sacrificed time from their own work on the east bank of the Nile, where new excavations were clearing up much confusion concerning the kings of the Eleventh Dynasty. There is hope that they will be rewarded with some share in the treasures to bring back to America.

The Egyptian government, however, will receive half the things from the tomb, because it is so specified by law. These will go to the Cairo Museum. What disposition Carter and Carnarvon will make of the rest is not known.

Earlier Work of Egyptologists

Until the archaeologists began their labors, our knowledge of ancient Egyptian history was extremely foggy. The Greeks and Romans left records of the decadent Egypt of their day, but their knowledge of the great kingdoms and empires that had gone before was distorted by folk-lore and fable. Even Manetho, an Egyptian priest who wrote a history in the Third Century, B.C., did more to mislead than inform.

The meaning of the hieroglyphs was lost,

and through many centuries the historical significance of Egyptian writings remained unintelligible. But while Napoleon was campaigning in Egypt one of his officers found a stone slab near the Rosetta mouth of the Nile. This Rosetta Stone bore a late Egyptian proclamation in hieroglyphic symbols such as were on the monuments, in hieroglyphic handwriting, and in Greek. By comparing these texts, Francois Champollion, a Frenchman, worked out the hieroglyphic alphabet in 1822 and then translated many of the inscriptions. This alphabet was composed solely of consonants. That is why the spelling of ancient Egyptian names varies so much in modern histories; no one knows what their vowels were.

In 1840 Karl Richard Lepsius, who headed a German expedition, continued the work of translation and began putting the newly found information in its proper historical sequence. The first notable excavation was made in 1850 by Auguste Mariette, a Frenchman, who found the Serapeum, a burying place near Memphis, which contained the mummies of sixty-four sacred Apis bulls. In the succeeding thirty years he opened the tombs of more than 300 scribes, priests, and nobles. This was a great historical contribution; but his methods were hasty and wasteful when compared with modern standards. The Metropolitan Museum excavators think nothing of working for five years on one site.

During the last half-century, Petrie, Newberry, Griffith, and other Englishmen have made excavations that filled mighty gaps in history. Borchardt and Möller did infinitely careful work for the Germans. The American museums and universities—such as Harvard, Pennsylvania, and California—have made important contributions. During and since the Great War, Dr. George A. Reisner, head of the Harvard and Boston Museum of Fine Arts Expedition, made discoveries in Nubia that brought to light the half-forgotten Ethiopian Pharaohs who ruled Egypt during a period of her decline.

Natives have also found many things. They first discovered, and tried to keep secret, the cache where the priests had hidden the royal mummies. In 1887-88 Arabs picked up the "Amarna Letters," a series of some 300 clay tablets, letters which Asiatic vassals wrote to Ikhnaton and Amenhotep the Magnificent.



THREE-QUARTERS OF A MILLION BUSHELS OF POTATOES WERE SHIPPED FROM THIS STATION
—IN MONMOUTH COUNTY, NEW JERSEY—IN 1920

SOME ECONOMIC ASPECTS OF THE POTATO CROP

BY CARL R. WOODWARD

THE potato-growers of the Northern States in 1922 have passed through the unhappy experience which fell to the lot of the grain-growers of the Middle West in 1921. With the largest crop ever grown in America, estimated December first at 451,185,000 bushels, they have been the victims of the most serious price slump in years. Large quantities of potatoes have netted the growers 35 cents a bushel or less. While this price was not unheard of in pre-war years, it was unusual; and when it did occur it was then not so serious as to-day, when the cost of growing the crop, as well as the price which the farmer must pay for the various commodities he needs to purchase, is much higher than in the earlier days.

According to present prospects, the growers of fall and winter potatoes in the tier of States north of and including New Jersey, as a class, will have lost heavily on the 1922 crop. Many, unfortunately, are in financial straits, and mortgage foreclosures and

sheriff's sales are uncomfortably common in some communities.

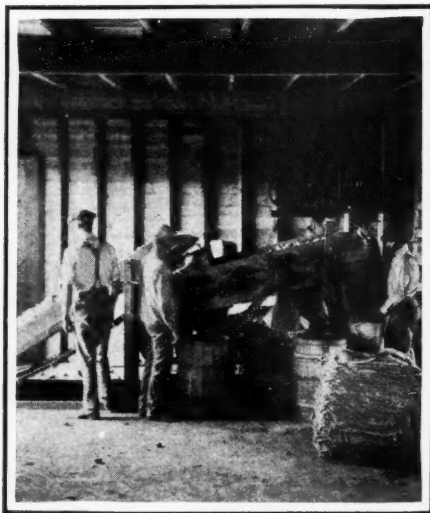
A National Crop

The potato is one of the great American crops. It is the most important vegetable food crop grown in the United States, and ranks eighth in the list of all crops in point of total value. The total acreage devoted annually to potatoes averaged 3,810,500 for the period 1919-22, and during the same years the production averaged 376,500,000 bushels. The annual value of the crop for the past five years may be placed roughly at \$500,000,000. For the decade previous to 1916 the annual value averaged about \$220,000,000.

On the basis of the production shown in the 1920 census New York ranked first among the potato-growing States, with 32,470,000 bushels. Minnesota was second, Wisconsin third, Maine fourth, Michigan fifth, and Pennsylvania sixth, each with a production of more than 20,000,000 bushels.

In other years the relative standing of these States would vary, as the local yields fluctuate with the variation of seasonal conditions. Other States having a production in excess of 10,000,000 bushels, according to this census, are New Jersey and Virginia. Potatoes are also an important crop in Colorado and California, each with a production of over 8,000,000 bushels, Ohio with 7,500,000, Idaho with 6,300,000, and Washington with 5,866,000 bushels. It should be added that the total production for 1919, the year covered by the census, was below the average.

In recent years Florida, South Carolina and North Carolina have become important sources of early potatoes. The American public seems quite willing to pay a fancy premium for "new" potatoes, even though there may be plenty of "old" potatoes on the market of good quality and at a low price. Early potatoes from the South, then, usually are in good demand in northern markets and sell for a good price. This has stimulated the production of potatoes in the Southern States. The early potatoes from the South, however, are quite in a class by themselves, and it is the great bulk of fall and winter stock produced in the northern potato belt that presents the most serious economic problems.



INTERIOR OF A POTATO-GRADING HOUSE

(The machine sorts the potatoes into "firsts," "seconds," and "culls"; and they are at once sacked and loaded on freight cars)

A Bad Year for New Jersey Growers

An investigation of the marketing of New Jersey potatoes recently completed, revealed some interesting and enlightening economic facts about the potato industry in general, and about New Jersey potatoes in particular. The investigation is further of special significance, in that it exemplifies a new venture in solving farming problems, and is illustrative of the new day in the agricultural industry.

Most of the potatoes of the Garden State are grown in the rich loam belt that stretches across the center of the State from the Delaware River to the sea coast. Monmouth County comprises the largest part of this district, but portions of Middlesex and Mercer are included. Also, in some of the southern counties potatoes are one of the important crops, but the industry is not so specialized as in Central Jersey.

The past twenty years have witnessed a considerable expansion of potato-growing in the State. The growers became fairly prosperous, and when a crop is found to pay well, the natural result is to grow more of it—hence the increase. The high prices of the war years, furthermore, furnished an artificial stimulus. For a few years previous to the war, the growers showed considerable concern about marketing, but the most of them promptly forgot its importance in the mad rush that followed the inflated prices of 1916 to 1919. Here as elsewhere the high prices caused an over-stimulation of production, which with favorable growing conditions resulted in the big crop of 1922, and the consequent price slump.

So serious were the losses which the New Jersey growers suffered that they began seeking avenues of relief. The State Federation of County Boards of Agriculture, the local unit of the American Farm Bureau Federation, was their most representative organization, and happily was in a position to give aid.

This body was organized two years ago, and is strictly an organization of the farmers themselves, having a membership of over 12,000. The individual farmers are members of their local county unit, known as the county board of agriculture, and, upon joining, they automatically become members of the State body and of the American Farm Bureau Federation. Under the executive management of Dr. Frank App, the secretary, who is also Professor of



A MAINE POTATO FARM WITH A DIGGING MACHINE AT WORK

Agricultural Economics at the State College of Agriculture, the State Federation acts as a coordinating agency for the county units, and handles questions of State-wide application. It functions largely through committees of representative farmers from the different branches of farming in the State.

Diagnosing the Ills of the Potato

In order to advise measures that would alleviate the depression among the potato men, the Potato Committee conferred and decided that an investigation of the marketing of the crop was necessary if the basic facts were to be known. In other words, a thorough diagnosis must be made. The Federation accordingly called together representatives of the State College of Agriculture, the Agricultural Experiment Station, and the State Department of Agriculture, and arranged for the appointment of a joint committee to make the investigation. Dr. App as chairman directed the study. The other members consisted of Prof. Henry Keller, Jr., Allen G. Waller and W. F. Knowles, of the College and Station, and A. L. Clark, H. B. Weiss and B. W. Sherburne, representing the State Department of Agriculture.

A comprehensive plan of work was adopted, and special assignments made to

each committeeman. It was proposed to gather data on the production of potatoes in New Jersey, and to make comparisons with other regions. The relation of prices from different regions, at different times of the year and for different varieties was included. Freight rates, storage, handling at the point of destination and other factors were studied. The financial status of the grower was investigated, and, of prime importance, the cost of growing the crop.

When the committee filed their report early in November they knew some things about New Jersey potatoes of which they had scarcely ever dreamed. This information they immediately passed on to the growers.

Among the most interesting facts discovered was the great development of potato-growing from 1890 to 1920, in the Coastal Plain Area which includes, in addition to the Southern States, the east shore of Maryland, Delaware, New Jersey and Long Island. During this period the commercial potato acreage has increased 228 per cent., while the population east of the Mississippi during the same time has grown only 60 per cent. The region of most marked growth along the Coastal Plain has been the Eastern Shore of Virginia, which in 1890 represented only 18 per cent. of the total area in potatoes,

and in 1920, 30 per cent. Meanwhile, New Jersey's proportion fell off from 47 per cent. to 31 per cent., although its total acreage increased materially. The effect, of course, of this relative change, was to force New Jersey into a less commanding position on the potato markets during the late summer season.

The investigation included also a study of the distribution of shipments from the different regions. From 1917 to 1921 more than half the potato shipments during the month of July came from North Carolina, Virginia and Maryland, and except in 1918 and 1919, this was true for June also. During August, 26 to 37 per cent. of the shipments came from New Jersey, but never a majority. Long Island and Idaho potatoes also figure conspicuously this month. Shipments from Minnesota and Colorado begin to appear in considerable force, and continue strong throughout

September and October. September sees a considerable shipment from Maine, continuing throughout October, and from Wisconsin, which becomes heaviest in October. Few New York or Michigan potatoes are shipped before October, and not many from the Empire State then, for the New York growers hold large quantities in storage.

A Growing Industry

The development of the potato industry as a whole in the past half-century also is of interest.

The total area devoted to potatoes since 1866 shows an increase from 1,069,000 to 4,228,000 acres in 1922. The average annual production for this same period has increased from 112,803,000 bushels for the nine years 1866 to 1874, inclusive, to 376,500,000 for the four-year period 1919 to 1922.

Potato Production, 1866-1922¹

<i>Period</i>	<i>Average Annual Acreage</i>	<i>Average Annual Production</i>	<i>Average Acre Yield</i>	<i>Production per Capita</i>
		<i>Bushels</i>	<i>Bushels</i>	<i>Bushels</i>
1866-74.....	1,242,743	112,803,000	91.0	2.89
1875-84.....	1,910,062	160,196,000	84.6	3.22
1885-94.....	2,569,231	183,076,000	71.3	2.94
1895-04.....	2,998,078	261,224,000	87.1	3.45
1905-14.....	3,541,486	343,393,000	97.0	3.76
1915-18.....	3,994,500	375,160,000	93.4	3.80
1919-22.....	3,810,500	376,500,000	98.7	3.60

¹ From Preliminary Report of Joint Committee on Potato Marketing, N. J. Fed. Co. Bds. Agr., Trenton, 1922.

Since 1913 the northern tier of States, Minnesota, the Dakotas and Wisconsin, also Colorado, have increased their acreage very rapidly. In 1913 Minnesota was growing 270,000 acres; in 1922, 486,000. In 1913 the Dakotas were growing 120,000 acres and in 1922, 308,000. Colorado, for example, increased its acreage from 113,000 in 1921 to 142,000 in 1922.

There are two outstanding features in the development of the potato industry. In the first place, our production is increasing more rapidly than our acreage. In other words, the yield per acre has increased, which would indicate that the potato-grower to-day is a better farmer than he was a generation ago. Again, the per capita production has very markedly increased. Since the exports and imports of potatoes comprise only a very small per-

centage of the entire crop, we would conclude that the potato to-day occupies a more important place in the American diet than in the earlier years.

A study of the relation of prices to production revealed the fact that high prices tend to increase the acreage the following year, which in turn increases production and brings low prices. The old adage, "High-priced seed means a low-priced crop, and low-priced seed a high-priced crop," seems to be borne out in the case of potatoes.

The graph on the next page shows strikingly the effect of production upon prices.

For the benefit of the New Jersey grower, the committee procured comparative prices for New Jersey potatoes and stock from competing areas, and also ascertained the difference in price between the two principal types grown in the State, the long

Production - Millions of Bushels
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A POTATO-DIGGER ON A NEW JERSEY FARM

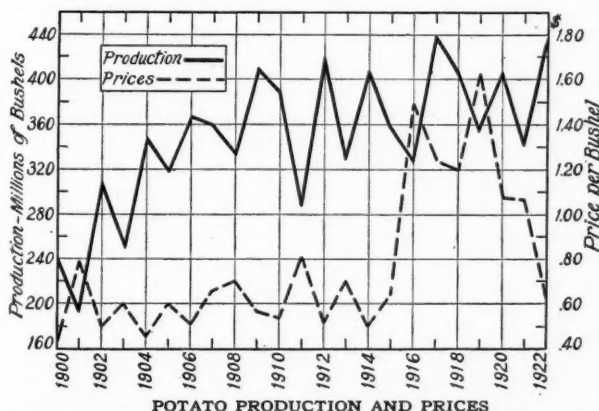
(The digger is horse-drawn, but there is a gasoline engine to shake loose the soil from the potatoes. The soil falls through the sieve bottom, while the potatoes slide off the extreme end and remain on top)

"American Giant" variety and the round varieties; also a comparison of prices by months.

Storage as a factor in providing a more uniform distribution and stabilizing prices was investigated. It was found that when the potato harvest is much below 400,000,-

000 bushels, the price tends to increase during the spring months, while when the crop is 400,000,000 bushels or more, spring prices are low. During the past ten years the price between December 1 and March 1 has usually been highest when the dealers had large stocks in hand. When these stocks were depleted the price tended to go down.

As to the price of potatoes compared with that of other commodities, the wholesale prices in August, 1922, compared with 1913, are as follows: Farm products 32 per cent. higher, food 38, clothing 80, fuel and light 171, metals 26, building materials 72, chemicals and drugs 22, house furnishings 73, and the average of all commodities 55 per cent. higher. It is quite striking that farm products are considerably lower than the average of all other commodities. New Jersey potatoes in 1922 had a purchasing power only 40 per cent. as great as in pre-war times. In other words, this year it required $2\frac{1}{2}$ bushels



POTATO PRODUCTION AND PRICES

(Two important economic principles seem to govern the potato crop. First, the price each year is in inverse ratio to the total production. Second, prices and production run in cycles, usually two years in length but sometimes four. The abnormal prices of the war-period also are evident, as well as the stimulation in production. From 1900 to 1906, the fluctuation in both production and prices occurred annually, resulting in three two-year cycles. The next cycle covered four years, 1907 to 1910—two years of high prices, followed by two years of low prices. Two two-year cycles followed from 1911 to 1914. Here war-period influences began to show, and increase in price was out of proportion to production. With war-time inflation removed in 1921, low production failed to bring up the price, and the bumper crop of 1922 sent the price down to an extremely low point)



IRRIGATING POTATOES IN SOUTH IDAHO

(The irrigated lands of Idaho show heavy yields of grains and vegetables)

of potatoes to buy as much as one bushel would purchase before the war.

Incidentally, bumper crops do not always mean prosperity. While in 1922 the potato crop was about 90,000,000 bushels larger than in 1921, the farmers actually received \$135,000,000 less for it.

Effect of Substitutes on the Price of Potatoes

At times the opinion has been expressed that a large fruit or vegetable crop might have a tendency to depress the price of potatoes, as fruit or other vegetables would be purchased instead of potatoes. A careful examination of the effect of fruit and vegetables on the price of potatoes showed no correlation. The crops compared were apples, peaches, sweet potatoes and rice. There was, however, a correlation between

the total production of potatoes and the quantity of other crops grown. Evidently the climatic conditions which result in a good crop of potatoes tend to cause a large crop of fruit or of vegetables. A large number of retailers with whom this matter was discussed stated that people ordinarily do not buy some other crop in preference to potatoes because of the difference in price.

Upon studying freight rates it was found that there is a lack of uniformity in the rates between different producing sections and points of destination. New Jersey was found to be at a disadvantage in competition with other areas in the matter of long-distance shipping. The committee proposes that this question be taken up with the Interstate Commerce Commission.

To follow up the potato as far as possible on its way to the ultimate consumer, members of the committee visited the wholesale dealers, brokers and jobbers in Chicago, Indianapolis, Boston, Charleston, Springfield, Worcester, St. Louis, New York and Providence. The opinions of these men in regard to quality, grading, packing, and methods of selling were procured, and their criticisms and suggestions recorded.

The financial status of the grower was determined through visits to banks in Central Jersey, and conferences with some of the dealers. The bankers readily offered their coöperation when they were advised of the purpose of the survey.

The Cost of Growing Potatoes

Finally, the aggregate of the cost of producing an acre of potatoes in New Jersey, the cost per bushel, the acre yield, the price received per bushel and the receipts and profits per acre over the nine-year period 1913-1921 were determined and compared with the same for other potato States.

The following table is presented as throwing some light upon the various economic aspects of the potato crop:

Average Figures on the Production of Potatoes for the Nine-Year Period 1913-1921, Inclusive

	<i>Acre cost</i>	<i>Cost per bushel</i>	<i>Acre yield (bu.)</i>	<i>Price received per bu.</i>	<i>Acre receipts</i>	<i>Profits per acre</i>
New Jersey (Monmouth Co.)	\$1.31	\$0.69	210	\$0.83	\$162.71	\$32.16
Maine	1.72	.82	225	1.06	237.05	64.94
Michigan	.71	.65	111	1.04	109.12	40.56
Wisconsin	.81	.61	139	.99	126.15	47.62
Minnesota	.72	.65	114	.95	100.45	35.22
New York	.86	.80	109	1.20	127.44	43.84



AN IDAHO POTATO FIELD WHICH PROMISES A YIELD OF 500 BUSHEL PER ACRE

(The average potato yield throughout the United States is less than 100 bushels to the acre)

Few laymen, and in fact not many of the growers themselves, realize how expensive a crop potatoes are. Their cost is much in excess of the grain and forage crops; hence the grower must receive a rather large return in order to realize a profit. The items of expense in growing the potato crop are shown in the following table, which gives the figures for New Jersey in 1922, but in principle applies to the crop grown elsewhere, with due allowance for variation in local practices:

*Estimated Cost of Growing
An Acre of Potatoes in Central New Jersey, 1922¹*

	<i>Cost per Acre</i>
Seed.....	\$24.25
Cover crop.....	3.00
Baskets, barrels, etc.....	1.01
Seed treatment.....	.03
Fertilizer.....	30.50
Spray material.....	3.00
Manure.....	.34
Man labor.....	27.00
Horse labor.....	15.58
Machine labor.....	10.00
Tractor.....	1.50
Truck.....	1.50
Rent.....	19.18
Insurance.....	.61
Interest.....	2.05
	<hr/> \$139.55

¹ From data compiled by the N. J. Agricultural Experiment Station.

There are valuable lessons for the New Jersey growers to be learned from this study. It indicates that they can not hope to control the market at any time; that they should seek to produce potatoes of better quality and that they should produce

them more economically, that they should grade more closely and be more adequately organized for marketing; and that they should gauge their acreage according to the probable price and production that past experience indicates each year.

It is too much to expect that all these aims will be accomplished at once, but it may reasonably be anticipated that there will be a steady development toward them, in view of the signs of progress so evident in recent years. The cooperative marketing spirit is becoming widespread, and it holds out much of promise. Its success, however, is contingent upon the interest and loyalty of the rank and file of membership.

By-Products of the Potato

Another phase of the potato industry, as yet scarcely touched in this country, is the manufacture of various by-products. Considerable progress in this field has been reported in Europe, notably in Germany. Methods of manufacturing starch, alcohol, flour and other materials from the potato have been pretty well worked out, particularly by the United States Department of Agriculture. Aside from some starch factories in Aroostook County, Maine, however, little has been done on a commercial scale in the United States.

It is estimated that while less than one per cent. of the American potato crop is used for the manufacture of starch, in Germany 4 per cent. is used for making starch and related products, and nearly 6 per cent. for the production of potato alcohol. In Germany, also a much larger proportion of the crop is fed to farm animals.



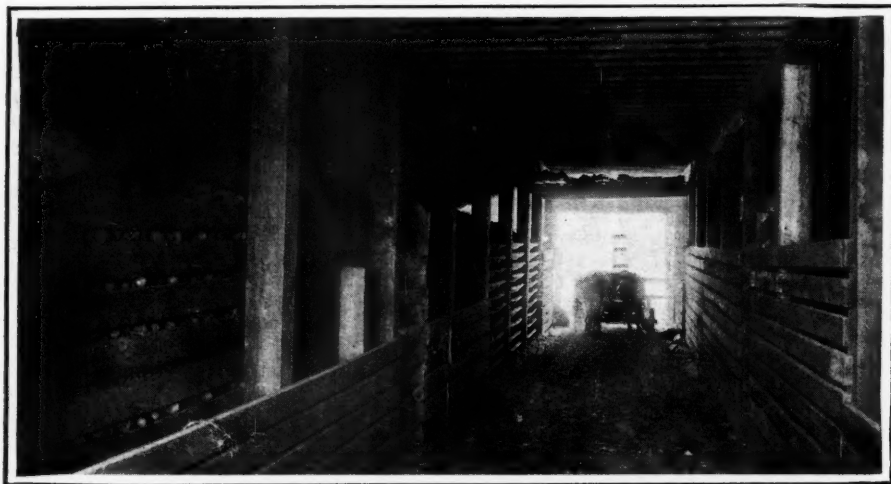
AN IDAHO "DUG-OUT" OR STORAGE CELLAR FOR POTATOES, WITH A CAPACITY OF MORE THAN 4,000,000 POUNDS, OR 150 CARLOADS

(This "dug-out" has an excavation of three feet, with floors, sides and roof of earth. When completed, the roof timbers are covered with wire fencing, straw and ten inches of earth. The dimensions of the structure are 50 by 285 feet. The end walls of the "dug-out" are of concrete)

The manufacture of dehydrated and riced potatoes also opens up an outlet for the crop.

If there could be established in the potato-growing districts plants that would profitably convert second-grade and cull potatoes into useful food and industrial products, and which could utilize the surplus of the main crop in case of excessive production, both the grower and the consumer would benefit.

In view of the degree of success which apparently has attended the manufacture of potato starch in Maine, it appears that this is the most promising of the by-product ventures. It is not unreasonable to anticipate that, with the further aid of science, some new and profitable outlets for the "lowly spud" will become available within the next decade.



ELEVEN-FOOT DRIVEWAY FROM END TO END OF THIS IDAHO POTATO "DUG-OUT"

(This driveway, nearly 300 feet long, makes possible the easy handling of the potatoes and insures good ventilation)

LEADING ARTICLES OF THE MONTH

The Harding Administration's Foreign Policy

IN an article which he contributes to the *Atlantic Monthly* for March on "Two Years of President Harding," Professor William B. Munro, of Harvard, finds some things to criticize and much to commend in the way in which the Administration at Washington has fulfilled the first half of its four-year term.

After noting the fact that the initiative in diplomatic affairs has been with Secretary Hughes since March 4, 1921, Professor Munro reverts to the Washington Conference as the most notable achievement of the Administration in the field of foreign relations, and says, by way of comment on the results that Mr. Hughes and his colleagues secured from that gathering:

It was not easy to secure an agreement on naval disarmament among nations which have found themselves able to agree on nothing else. And as for the Four Power Treaty, it is a fair prediction that this pact will some day rank as a master-stroke of far-sighted and efficient diplomacy, great in its influence for the preservation of peace. If these Washington agreements, by reason of delayed ratification in Europe, have not yet been endowed with their full force and effect, it is through no fault of the American Administration. So far as America is concerned, the ratifications are complete.

It would probably have been better for the world, and better for the United States, if the outstanding lesson of the Washington Conference had been more earnestly taken to heart. This conference demonstrated, in so far as such a thing is susceptible of occult demonstration, that an international consensus on even the most important questions affecting the peace of mankind is possible under one condition: namely, that America is ready to supply the initiative and the guidance. It is apparently not within the range of possibilities under any other condition. There appeared to be some ground for hoping, a year ago, that the success of the Washington Conference would be followed up by the exercise of American initiative on a broader scale. The occasion was opportune, but the Administration halted and let it pass. Possibly it feared that the sentiment of the country would not rally to such action, and it may be that this fear was justified. In neither of the two great political parties have the lessons of 1919-1920 been forgotten; in both there is a disinclination to let the country be drawn into

anything that might be regarded as an "entanglement," with a resulting hostile reaction from the electorate.

In Professor Munro's opinion the fundamental reason for so little display of America's international leadership in 1923 is that there was so much of it in 1919:

Mr. Wilson, misjudging the attitude of his own countrymen, went too far and too fast. In the terminology of football, he "ran ahead of his interference." Permanent gains are not made by that process. So one can hardly blame Mr. Hughes if he prefers to move circumspectly; it would profit neither America nor the world were he to begin any enterprise that the mind of this country would not permit him to finish. The Administration cannot well take the lead in helping Europe out of political and financial chaos until the people of the United States are ready, not alone to tolerate, but to support it in so doing. That time may be approaching; there are some indications that it is. Meanwhile, the Administration has endeavored to maintain contact with the European situation through the medium of "observers" and other representatives, whose status is unofficial but whose authority to speak the mind of the State Department is usually clear enough. From unofficial to official partici-



THE ADVISER-GENERAL

CHORUS OF RESCUERS: "Why don't you come and give a hand—instead of standing there shouting?"

From *John Bull* (London, England)

pation in a world conference will be but a short and easy step, when the time arrives, if it ever does arrive.

While public opinion in the United States remains hesitant on the subject of European intervention, the European nations themselves keep their political interests continually in the foreground. Whenever there has been an attempt during the past two years to settle such questions as reparations and the stabilization of finances it has been frustrated by the exigencies of national politics. The main question at the conferences has not been, "What is the best thing to do?" but, "What is the most politic thing to do?"

There is one way, therefore, in which Europe can hasten official assistance from America, if such is genuinely desired. This way is to adjourn politics for a season so far as international questions are concerned. Secretary Hughes, in his address at New Haven last December, indicated the channel through which this might be most easily accomplished. The fundamental trouble comes from the

continued disorganization of finance and credit; the immediate desideratum is to restore these things to a stable basis. That is not a task for politicians, whether great or small. It is a job for a body of financial and economic experts, whose livelihood does not depend upon the popularity of their findings among the people of their respective countries. It is true that a plan for the alleviation of Europe's acute problems, if worked out by a body of experts, would be ineffective unless agreed to by the various governments; but a government would find it much easier to concur in an unpopular solution reached in this way than in one reached by any other procedure.

Before America can be of real assistance in Europe, therefore, some reorientation must take place overseas. England desires America's participation as a restraining hand upon the impatience of France. France, in turn, desires it in so far (but only in so far) as it may help compel the performance of German obligations. And Germany desires American intervention, to the end that the provisions of the Versailles Treaty may be relaxed. As for the other countries of Europe, they desire America to stretch a hand across the sea, but not an empty hand. At all European discussions of American participation in the affairs of the distracted Continent, there has been too much emphasis upon what America might do if she were sufficiently generous—as generous as she seemed to be five years ago.

England's Insistent Appeal to Uncle Sam

ACCORDING to the editor of the London *Spectator*, what the world wants to-day is a statesman of the Canning type, who will call in the New World to adjust the balance of the Old. "Will not President Harding, acting as the representative, not of one party in the Republic, but of America as a whole, play this great and beneficent part, and do in a much larger theater, at a time of much greater need, and with a much greater purpose, what Canning professed to do?"

After rehearsing some of the serious perils that now beset Europe, and declaring that the re-grouping of the Powers now in prospect means that Britain must either be driven into the arms of Germany or must leave the Continent to its fate, the editor again asks:

How are we to escape from this dreadful dilemma—one which, we believe, has its terrors for prudent and far-seeing Frenchmen just as much as for like-minded men in England? Where are we to find shelter from the storm that is already darkening the sky? The essential points in the problem are: (1) The determination of what Germany can pay without depriving her of hope and strength; (2) the discovery of the safest and best method of compelling her to pay what she justly ought to pay without the use of force, such as France is now applying, with the result that the old hatreds, instead of dying out,

are being renewed with a tenfold intensity; (3) the need for setting Germany on a course which will make her change her defiant and suspicious policy, which will render her a true democracy, and induce her to turn her vast skill and energy into growing prosperous instead of cultivating the evil crops of national revenge and hatred.

The editorial, which is signed by Mr. J. St. Loe Strachey, proceeds to state explicitly what America may do to save the situation:

No nation, as no man, can be judge in its own cause. Yet if the Allies are left to settle these problems by themselves, how can they avoid error? Speaking broadly, either the French or the English view has got to be adopted. But though capable of adjustment, these two opinions are at present absolutely opposed. There is only one way out—that proposed at the beginning of this article. We want a new and better George Canning. And in existing circumstances he can come only from America. Will America once more save Europe and the world, not this time in arms, not by a vast expenditure, but by good advice and the arts of conciliation? Why should not America in effect offer to examine judicially the whole question of Reparations, estimate the greatest amount Germany can pay without being deprived of hope and the means of recovery, and then recommend a plan for securing the rapid restoration of the Rhineland to Germany, on the model of Bismarck's indemnity arrangement with France?

In order to facilitate this process let America propose a plan by which only a certain percentage

of the debt owed to us and America by the Allies shall be paid in gold. Let the remainder be paid in German securities. We and America can then, under an agreement between ourselves if we so desire, remit these payments according as the progress of German payment to France is fast or slow. Next, let America suggest a plan under which the League of Nations can be bound absolutely to come to the aid of France if she is attacked by Germany. Finally, let America suggest modifications of the League of Nations under which she will be willing, and able, to join the League, or at any rate join in the guarantee of security to France.

If America will do this, and do it without delay, she may yet save Europe alive. If not, the future of civilization must be dark and precarious. Surely the world is worth saving. Surely the jurists of

America can devise means for saving it which will not commit their country to unrestricted responsibilities and yet will provide the former Allies with a compromise. After all, not much is needed. Though France seems "difficult," almost all her people would be thankful to find a good excuse for giving up the hopeless task of keeping 60,000,000 men in subjection and of maintaining huge armaments. France wants to be reassured, and America can reassure her. As for the other Continental Allies—Italy and Belgium—they will need very little persuasion to adopt the British standpoint. And then ourselves? America knows that all we want is what she wants—Peace, and the assurance that we will not go back forever to the system of obtaining security by armaments and the formation of alliances and counter-alliances.

A Coal Expert Predicts French Success in the Ruhr

AN American coal expert, Mr. R. M. Bryan, writing in *Forbes* (New York) for March 3, gives some of his reasons for believing that France will succeed in taking from the Ruhr mines even more than the amount of coal representing the reparations due to France, Belgium and Italy:

For one thing, the German mines are not so complicated that they cannot be operated by the French and Belgian engineers, who are every bit as intelligent and skilled as the German engineers. There is no evidence of inferiority in France's mines, railways, or steel plants. I have always found the French to be most thorough. They are extremely modest in talking about themselves, they are still shy on publicity, and perhaps for this reason they are grossly misunderstood on this side of the Atlantic and underestimated in Great Britain, where the average person hears so much of the "superiority" of the German that he fails to appreciate what the French really are, and what they have accomplished.

Fifteen per cent. of the miners in the Ruhr, I found, are of foreign birth. The greater portion of these are Poles. Moreover, I learned that the French had had Polish mining engineers in Paris, evidently in training to step into the Ruhr whenever they were needed to handle the Polish element. Moreover, the French knew that in the Saar mines, which they have operated since the armistice, there are thousands of miners and overmen who have worked in Ruhr mines and whose familiarity with them can be put to good account if necessary. Hundreds of Polish workmen have already been brought to the Ruhr by means of the water route, no doubt with the idea of employing them in the mines if the natives do not care to continue to work under French domination.

Having recently returned from England and France and being an American coal man, interested in studying America's position in the international coal situation,



GUARDING THE RUHR OUTPUT
(A French sentinel atop a carload of briquettes bound west from the Ruhr)

Mr. Bryan observed that the immediate effect of the Ruhr invasion was to make the British coal exporter and the British steamship owner timid about bidding for future business. They think that Germany may have to buy millions of tons of coal from Great Britain to replace the Ruhr output. England is to-day the only country in

Europe that has coal to export, but she has no large surplus over what she is already sending out to her customers in every country of the world.

For Germany to buy in large quantities from England, therefore, will mean but one thing: the other nations would be bidding against her; so that prices would unquestionably reach a point where the Germans would have to release much of their hoarded treasures now held in foreign countries.

Mr. Bryan was impressed by the failure of the German Government to collect the tax assessed on all Ruhr coal (40 per cent. of the value), thus enabling the coal operators to save money for themselves while the Government was defrauded of sums which should have been used for reparations payments. The incident seems to have received little publicity in America.

The Latest Report of the Dutch Commission for the Reform of Labor Conditions

THE Dutch Labor Minister proposed in December, 1920, that the Commission for the Reform of Labor Conditions should investigate the advisability of compulsory changes in trade organization in order to secure a living wage for the workman.

Mr. G. A. Kessler, in the January number of *De Gids*, reviews the report of the Commission which was handed in last December.

The report is unanimous as to the necessity for a living wage, but Mr. Kessler thinks that the recommendation for the compulsory changes in the organization of industry necessary to secure the living wage was not endorsed with genuine conviction:

Between the lines one can read the fear that the consumer will be cheated. . . . And besides there is clearly apparent a misgiving as to the industry itself. The Commission is afraid that improvement of the commodity will cease without free competition between private firms and that the existence of unstable undertakings will be artificially maintained.

In brief, the Commission is visibly concerned about all the disadvantages attending a hothouse atmosphere. They consider the brisk winds of free competition absolutely requisite primarily for the needs of the consumer and in the second place for the development of industry itself.

The Commission also declared that collective trade contracts should be made legally binding even for the firms who refused to sign. It is understood that a collective labor contract can only be declared binding when signed by the great majority of the trade organizations of employers and workmen. The contract shall then be declared binding by the Labor Minister through a neutral party, such as the Commission for the Reform of Labor Conditions. It is recommended that regulations be framed whereby the employers shall pledge

their word to the workmen to consider their claims for wages before fixing prices.

The Commission also passed a resolution providing that a collective contract between employers and workmen may agree upon certain deviations from the legal daily hours of labor. They also recommend that in the labor inspection committees on the legal hours of labor the workmen should be represented by an equal number of members with the employers.

The Commission finally resolved that it is desirable that the workmen should be represented in the board of directors of every industrial undertaking.

Mynheer Kessler is doubtful of the reception of this report by the practical industrial leaders of Holland:

The Commission was mostly composed of officials and college professors and leaders of trade unions. In the foreground of the discussion were the *tableaux vivants* of the workmen with their class demands and their inalienable human rights and the consumers with their demands. But the industrial leaders, with their right to exist, were scarcely mentioned.

Mr. Kessler concludes:

The industrial employer is an individual, or a small group of individuals, who may possess all human faults and virtues. His motive is to make his business succeed and to have credit, and the earning of a certain profit is essential for the existence of this motive in our national life. If the employer's guidance is to be strong he must have all individual freedom; if his business is to develop he must be free from the fear of investigations and inquiries by theorists and from more publicity than is compatible with the progress of his affairs. His leadership must be judged by the results and must not be subjected to governmental supervision. The employer must keep the rising tide of the trade unions in check and the maintenance of amicable relations with his workmen is his daily task. For every successful enterprise two men with common sense and two of supple and keen intelligence are requisite. If the

balance sometimes falls to the side of the employer, it is not less frequently the case with the workmen. And to-day the employer in Holland, as elsewhere, is very frequently one of the hardest working men on his pay-roll and the hardest pressed to make both ends meet. He is not hostile to his men, though he knows that their unions embitter his life. But he

desires above everything else in the world to be spared from further governmental interference at present when all his efforts are directed towards steering his ship in the troubled waters of competition at home and abroad, when every further legal regulation that makes his task harder seems "intolerable."

Belgium's Popular Prime Minister, M. Theunis

IT was a matter of curiosity to all the onlookers at the January Paris conference whether Belgium would take sides with France or Great Britain. M. Jacques Chastenot, in the January 12 number of *L'Opinion* (Paris), declares that when the Belgian Prime Minister, M. Theunis, arrived in Paris, he still believed a reconciliation possible between the French and English points of view:

He saw very soon, however, that it was trying to square the circle, and when M. Poincaré had explained the reasons why he could not accept the British proposals, M. Theunis rose and declared impulsively but clearly and with decision that Belgium was again one with France.

The next day, the idlers around the iron gates of the Quai d'Orsay identified audibly the celebrities hurrying from their motors into the Foreign Ministry. Quick and insignificant in profile, M. Poincaré passed on; tall, thin and melancholy of aspect, Mr. Bonar Law was followed by the small but sharply-cut silhouette of the Marquis della Torretta. Then M. de Lasteyrie came bowing to the crowd with his usual genial smile; with the Commandante d'Amelio evidently amused, and the correct and formal Sir Philip Lloyd Greame. A group of the important though obscure tribe of experts were unknown to the boulevards.

But there emerged from a limousine driven by a chauffeur with the black, yellow and red rosette on his livery, a small stocky personage with an energetic expression, broken nose and long sparse blond mustache. "That's the Prime Minister of Belgium, Colonel Theunis, and he's got more nob than any of them," some one with a Belgian accent remarked to his neighbor.

Perhaps history will agree with Theunis' humble compatriot. The statesman began his career in the army for which he had been destined by a family tradition. He grew tired of garrison life very soon, and went on the Stock Exchange of Brussels under the auspices of Baron Empain, who soon assisted his protégé into an influential position. The war broke out and the man of affairs entered the army with a commission as colonel. The Belgian Government entrusted him with the purchase of war supplies in England. He accomplished this task so well that after the armistice he was appointed Belgian High Commissioner at London, from which duty he was called to assist his country as Belgian delegate in the settlement of the financial and



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PREMIER THEUNIS OF BELGIUM

economic questions arising from the indemnity conferences.

Colonel Theunis proved an indefatigable worker, a technical expert up to the minute, and a debater sometimes hasty but always sincere. He is quick to wound but has a gift of pouring oil on the waters too troubled by the stones he has slung. In 1920 he was recalled to Brussels and made Finance Minister, which office he fitted so brilliantly that at the end of 1921 when Wiert's ministry fell, no one was surprised to see him the chief of the Cabinet. Abroad the growing rift between France and England and at home the Flemish disaffection were serious problems for the new régime. Theunis' Cabinet was about to fall after the vote on the law to compel the Ghent University to hold its lectures in Flemish when the Paris Conference opened. The course of events at the Paris Conference will in all probability prolong the duration of the Theunis Cabinet. At any rate the chief has earned the esteem and gratitude of France.

Trotsky's Experiences in Exile

THE *Revue Mondiale* has to-day a new collaborator, the illustrious dictator of the Republic of the Soviets, L. Trotsky. Needless to add that the opinions and policy of the *Revue* remain unchanged, despite the insertion of these pages, which by the way are full of cleverness.

THESE words preface the publication, in the *Revue Mondiale* (Paris), of an article which was not offered, indeed probably not authorized, by Trotsky, but was translated by J. W. Bienstock, doubtless from the Russian. It relates Trotsky's compulsory journey from Paris to Spain, his imprisonment and second expulsion from Spain.

Hardly any facts of importance are revealed. The secretary of the Spanish Socialists was serving a sentence of a fortnight "for an article disrespectful to a Catholic saint." "There was a time in this same Spain," the visitor reflects, "when Aquillano would have been just simply burned. After that let the sceptics deny the benefits of democratic progress!" His first impressions at St. Sebastian are frankly cynical. "A good deal of bigotry here. Over my bed is a very edifying picture, 'The Sinner's Death.' The devil is carrying off his victim in the presence of a very sorrowful angel, despite all the efforts of the good Abbe. As I fall asleep and as I wake, I think of the salvation of my soul. In the cinemas the lovers, before they kiss, repeat an Ave Maria, as they exchange rings."

There is not a dull line. The touches of color are most graphic. Sometimes there is all but poetic imaginativeness. For example: "By its expression the sea" (from the high Pyrenees) "seems to say that man is born to be a smuggler, though unforeseen circumstances may prevent him." An apparently sincere bit of sentiment is the tribute to the paintings in the Madrid Museum. "I felt as I have felt on other occasions, in this art, its eternal element."

More nearly a suggestion of Trotsky's unquestionable power is his keen, humorous insight into human nature. His blue-eyed French salesman, lamenting that "3,500 Germans, busily at work, are tolerated in Madrid," and adding sadly, "The people here don't seem capable of learning anything from the war!"—is simply sketched in seven lines, and not commented on at all.

Like the "Exile" himself, we are left feeling intimately acquainted, and even

good friends with the two French *gens d'armes* who conduct him civilly to the Franco-Spanish border:

One is a little man, almost aged, with a flattened nose of Slavic type, but a little finer. The other, enormous, bald, forty-five or so, black as tar. . . . The old inspector is a geographer. He talks of Tomsk, Irkutsk, Kazan, Novgorod, and the fair. The black one sat apart, for a long time speechless. But suddenly he began: "The Latin race is marking time. The rest are leaving it behind," said he, as he cut a slice of ham which he held in his hairy hand, of doubtful cleanness, decorated with heavy rings. "What have we in literature? Decadence everywhere. The same in philosophy. Nothing since Descartes and Pascal." I waited for the rest. He was silent and munched his ham sandwich. "You had Tolstoy, but we understand Ibsen better." Again he was mute. The old man, piqued at this avalanche of learning, began to expound the importance of the Trans-Siberian Railway.

The three presently discuss the manner in which Trotsky had been hunted down in Paris. The big officer complains:

Shadowing? The thing has become impossible! 'Tis only worth while when the "type" doesn't know he's shadowed . . . the taxi has killed it. You would have to forbid anyone under surveillance ever to take a cab.

As the sleepless night wanes, the same speaker all but confesses that his own sympathies are with the radicals:

It is you who have the ideas. We have to stand guard over the present order of things. Take the great Revolution. What a movement of ideas! The Encyclopædists, Jean Jacques, Voltaire—and fourteen years after the people were more unhappy than ever. Read Taine. Jaures complained to Jules Ferry that his government was not a progressive one. Ferry replied, "Governments are never the trumpets of revolution." Ultimately, no one is free to choose his path in life. There is no freedom of the will. Scepticism is the only philosophy suited to us.

And he proceeded, sceptically, to take a drink of red wine out of the bottle. Then, as he recorked it, "Renan says that all new ideas come too soon. And that's right."

If at this point a "sceptic" suggests that the unwilling traveler has probably invented his policemen, philosophy and all, he only magnifies the amazing cleverness, the diabolical charm, even, that doubtless still keeps this mysterious figure secure on his throne, although his subjects starve by millions, and he has to beg us to feed them while he plots against all democratic governments and social forms.

Alice Meynell, English Poet and Essayist

COMMENTING on the death of Alice Meynell in November last, one critic remarked that she ought to have been Poet Laureate of England. In years past she had been praised by such writers as Meredith, Ruskin, Rossetti and Coventry Patmore and the *Saturday Review* places her among the best of England's minor poets.

In an appreciation contributed to the *Catholic World* (New York) for March, Miss Agnes Repplier prefers to rank Mrs. Meynell's verse above her prose. Perhaps all critics would not assent to this. Mrs. Meynell's product was uniformly high in both verse and prose.

Miss Repplier regrets that the poem by which Mrs. Meynell is likely to be best remembered is the familiar "Shepherdess":

She walks—the lady of my delight—
A shepherdess of sheep.
Her flocks are thoughts. She keeps them white:
She guards them from the steep.
She feeds them on the fragrant height,
And folds them in for sleep.

Proceeding to comment on these lines, Miss Repplier says:

Whittier used to say that if he had dreamed "Maud Muller" would have been so popular, he would have written it better. "The Shepherdess" could not have been written better, because it is of its kind perfect. It has a Coventry Patmore quality which insures its popularity. In every modern anthology—and the English-speaking world has gone mad over anthologies for the past decade—Alice Meynell has been represented by these three verses; not, I fancy, because the compiler has always liked them best, but because he has wanted to make sure of pleasing his public. They are to be found even in that pleasant little outdoor volume called "The Open Road," which would seem to indicate that Mr. Lucas regarded the lady's flock of chaste and circumspect thoughts as veritable sheep and lambs.

So complete has been this association that Mrs. Meynell has become in some mysterious fashion identified with her own Shepherdess, as though she had written the poem about herself, which she assuredly did not. It fits her well; but she was the last woman in Christendom to have celebrated her own virtues, to have sung her own praises. Her taste was as austere as her style. Yet among the tributes published after her death were some verses by Corson Miller, entitled "The Dead Shepherdess," and Shane Leslie laid upon her coffin a wreath with this inscription. "Poetess of poets, shepherdess of sheep, saint of women." So much for striking a popular note.

As Miss Repplier points out, Mrs. Meynell's childhood and youth were well fitted to equip her for her life's work. She acquired her literary taste from her father, a



ALICE MEYNELL
(From the painting by John S. Sargent)

man of wide cultivation. Part of her early life was spent in Italy which she knew and loved. It seems to Miss Repplier that she understood Italy better than Browning did, partly because she saw more clearly the religious background of the popular life.

A convert to the Catholic Church, married to another convert, living in London, writing for English newspapers, she preserved inviolate the raptures of her wandering childhood, the secluded and delicate pleasures of the intellect, the clear flame of the spiritual life. To the power of her sympathy, no less than to the critical acumen and noble kindness of Wilfrid Meynell, we owe the redemption of Francis Thompson, and the brief flowering of his genius. To have rescued that wandering soul, to have lifted him from the bitter waters of despair, to have given to the world his treasures of prose and verse, is a benefaction for which the gratitude of generations is an all too feeble return. Mr Thompson made over and over again a full acknowledgment of his debt.

Mrs. Meynell's essays seem to Miss Repplier, who is herself perhaps the best living exponent of the essayist's art on this side of the Atlantic, to have suffered from undue brevity, "a brevity doubtless entailed by journalism." This, of course, is

an allusion to Mrs. Meynell's Friday column in the *Pall Mall Gazette*.

They are no shorter than were the eighteenth-century essays; but they are more critical, and criticism calls for scope. Moreover, the eighteenth-century essayists, when they wanted to be exhaus-

tive, carried a subject through a half-dozen or a dozen papers, until the picture was rounded and complete. Mrs. Meynell's papers are for the most part snatches of thought, expressed in carefully and admirably chosen words. She was, in the best sense of the term, a *précieuse*, valuing the manner of the saying as highly as she valued the thing said.

Parisian Salons Before 1914

THE Parisian man of letters, M. Jacques Normand, in *L'Opinion* (Paris) of January 12, relates his "souvenirs" of Paris before the war, where the affable and tolerant loved to meet to hear fine verse declaimed, or good music, while they exchanged ideas on subjects not exclusively sport, politics, scandal or the latest motor.

Brunetière was eloquent and even grandiloquent at these feasts of reason, Henry Becque was caustic and bitter, Anatole France erudite and full of anecdote, while Jules Lemaitre was fanciful and of elfin humor. Normand remembers that the tone was perfect there, though the cuisine was not for gourmets. Mme. Aubernon, as a member of the upper middle class of financiers, recalled in our time the intellectual and sympathetic personality of Mme. Geoffrin. Amateur theatricals were her hobby, and Paul Deschanel, Mme. Trousseau, the Comte Marcel de Germiny, Henri Birel and Robert de Flers shone as stars in "La Parisienne" of Becque, Ibsen's "Doll's House," or a comedy by Octave Feuillet or Sardou.

More Bohemian were the rendezvous of painters and musicians with men of the world, of letters and the stage at Madeleine Lemaire's in her small hotel in the rue de Monceau. Madame Lemaire is a distinguished painter in water color and Normand describes her as one of those smiling, calm women whom life seems unable to attack in their charm and grace. Until about five o'clock she was always hard at work and then received her friends with her exquisite little girl Suzette. Madeleine Lemaire had a sharp wit but it was veiled in a pleasant voice like, quinine in sugared pellets.

If the tone at Madame Aubernon's was a little arbitrary, at Mme. Lemaire's, fantasy and gayety ruled the board. Edouard Detaille chaffed Dr. Pozzi, Gaston Berardi disputed with Georges Clairin or Jean Berand. And in the soirées Bartel

Rejane, Calvé, Bréval, the Coquelins or Sybil Sanderson sang or recited with Saint-Saëns, Massenet, Delibes or Reynaldo Hahn at the piano. Costume parties were the vogue here, and on the invitation the period was indicated. Normand recalls one of the 1830 stock and die-away lady style where the supper was brilliant and gay and they danced until dawn.

In 1900, when the Russian Grand Dukes and Duchesses were at the Exposition, Madeleine Lemaire had her garden roofed and a floor laid to enlarge her studio and invited the visiting royalties to look on from a box arranged in the rear. No period was imposed and at midnight there was a pause and Jeanne Granier and the painter Santiago de Arcos stepped into the center of the studio. Granier was—Granier and Arcos, perfect in his disguise of an old negro. The laughter was homeric when the two began a wild bamboula to the tom-tom of the drums and the "Encore!" of the grand-duchesses.

Nineteen-fourteen stopped the receptions at the rue de Monceau and Madeleine Lemaire received the Germans as a Frenchwoman of pride and stout heart in her chateau de Réveillon in the Marne district.

Jeannot has painted one of Madeleine's soirées and the picture hangs in one of the halls of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs with Normand's brown beard near that of Louis Ganderax. But the raconteur playfully inquires, "Where the songs and the jest of yesteryear?"

Pauline Viardot, her ugliness lit with enchantment as she sang the air from *Orphée*, Princesse Mathilde in smooth chestnut bandeaux, pearls and flowing silk, chiding the too supple politician or the unjust critic of her house; Lydie Aubernon de Nerville, round, florid and ample of figure with her monocle poised as arbiter as she pounced upon the convivé with a "What d'ye think, Monsieur, of Shakespeare and musical glasses?"

A Flame Too Soon Extinguished: Marcel Proust

IN NONE of the arts, perhaps, save that of letters, do we find distinction attained by men who have deferred the practice of their profession till middle life or later. The outstanding example of this which will spring to every reader's mind is that of the English novelist, DeMorgan, who was past sixty when he began a series of works which made him a literary celebrity. A more recent instance is that of the distinguished French novelist, M. Marcel Proust, who is being acclaimed not only in France but in England and America likewise, as one of the greatest names in all the glorious roll of French men of letters, although he wrote nothing of importance until over forty, and he died, too soon, on the 20th of last November, at the early age of fifty-one. Doubtless the reason for such brilliant achievement in spite of a late beginning is that in letters as in none of the other arts there is—granted the power of observation and the gift of expression—a constant practice in the art, unconscious and unprofessional though it may be.

The eminence which Proust had attained and which his admirers expect him to maintain in the eyes of posterity can be judged by the extravagant tribute from the pen of Jacques Rivière, which opens *La Nouvelle Revue Française* (December 1st).

After speaking of Proust's personal charm and sweetness of nature as traits which endeared him to his friends, M. Rivière continues:

And yet it was one of the greatest writers of France who has just passed on. This was the most brilliant luminary which France has ever given to the world, and that at the very moment when one might have believed her exhausted by the war, a light which is now extinguished.

We do not yet know, we cannot yet know, how great Proust is, but we shall comprehend his greatness little by little. The discoveries made by him in the human mind and heart, will one day be

considered to be of as capital importance and of the same magnitude as those of Keppler in astronomy, of Claude Bernard in physiology, of August Comte in the interpretation of the sciences.

The author of this glowing tribute closes his fervent hymn of praise by stating that *La Nouvelle Revue Française*, "which had the honor and the joy of revealing Proust to the general public, intends shortly to offer proof of the importance which it ascribes to him by devoting a special number to his memory . . ."

Turning to another French magazine, the dignified and conservative *Correspondant*, we find under the title of "A Parisian Analyst" a judicial and well-balanced discussion of Proust's work. The writer, M. Armand Praviel, says:

His work was presented in a curious fashion. Some fragments first appeared about 1893 in *La Revue Blanche*; then three years later a luxurious volume illustrated by Madeleine Lemaire and adorned by a preface by Anatole France, was published; this contained under the title "Pleasures and Days" a series of tales, poems, and reflections. Was the author, perhaps, dissatisfied with its reception? At any rate for more than twenty years the author contented himself with publishing occasional

articles, translations of Ruskin, essays, which were not collected until 1919. . . .

But shortly before the War there appeared the beginning of that important work to which Proust devoted his life. . . . This was to comprise two parts to be called *The Search for Time Lost* and *Time Recovered*. Only the first appeared (except for a last volume).

In these volumes Proust applied himself to the task of making a meticulously minute painting of his own past life—that of a young man in delicate health and bred in idleness. We have not room to quote M. Praviel's elaborate discussion of these volumes, but we think it well worth while to repeat words quoted by him from another critic, M. François Mauriac, whom he describes as one of those rare persons not blinded by ardent friendship and, there-



MARCEL PROUST, 1871-1922

fore, having the courage to write as follows:

God is terribly absent from the work of Marcel Proust. . . . From the literary point of view alone this is the weakness and the limitation of this work—human conscience is absent from it. None of the beings who people it feel either moral disquietude or scruple or remorse or the desire of perfection. There is almost none who knows the meaning of *purity*; or rather those who are pure, like the mother and the grandmother of the hero, are so despite themselves, as naturally and as effortlessly as the other personages are depraved.

It is not the Christian who sits in judgment here. The defect of moral perspective impoverishes the humanity created by Proust and narrows his universe—*Revue Hebdom.*, Dec. 2, 1922.

Turning now to English-speaking critics we find a profound appreciation of the remarkable gifts of this modern "expressionist." A. B. Walkley in the London *Times* speaks of his death as a "crisis" comparable to such political events of the day as the triumph of Fascismo, the Lausanne Conference, the English elections. He observes:

His book is really a picture of the modern world and the modern spirit, and that is its peculiar fascination for us. There are "morbid" elements

in it, to be sure; we cannot read a page without seeing that it must have been written by someone who was anything but a normal healthy human being—and it is not for nothing that the *Times* has compared him to Petronius Arbiter. But one of the advantages of this hyperesthesia is a heightened sensibility for *everything*, the perception and accurate notation of innumerable details in thought and feeling that escape a normal observer. . . .

In the January number of that admirable American quarterly, the *Yale Review*, J. Middleton Murry, the brilliant London critic, draws a parallel in "The Break Up of the Novel" between the work of the French writer and his two British contemporaries, James Joyce and Dorothy Richardson, all three of whom he represents as "trying to present the content of their consciousness as it was before it had been reshaped on obedience to the demands of practical life; they were exploring the strange limbo where experiences once conscious fade into unconsciousness. . . . The method of Marcel Proust was the most subtle, in that he established at the starting point of his book the level of consciousness from which the aspiration actually began."

Near East Relief Under Changed Conditions

SOME of the startling changes that have occurred during the past few months in the Near East are outlined in the March number of the *New Near East* by General Secretary Charles V. Vickrey, of the Near East Relief, to whose unusual executive ability and untiring devotion the success of the American work in that region is in large part attributed.

Mr. Vickrey reports that the conditions under which his organization six months ago was doing its orphanage and relief work have been revolutionized:

Boys whom I saw last August sleeping at night in the Dodge Industrial Home in Stamboul and apprenticed during the day to tradesmen of Constantinople, approaching self-support, I found last month forcibly transplanted and temporarily installed in the Kaiser's Palace on the Island of Corfu.

Boys who, in August, were in the Morgenthau Industrial Home at Beyler Bey on the Asiatic side of the Bosphorus, comfortably housed and busily engaged in making shoes for the other orphanages as well as for American and European customers, were likewise transplanted, under dint of necessity, to Corfu, deprived for the present of their tools, buildings and opportunity to ply their trade.

A thousand boys whom most of us have seen marching in the film "Alice in Hungerland," and

who, until last October, occupied government buildings at Kouleli, were driven from the buildings by the advancing Turkish troops who required the buildings for barracks, and the boys, after many wanderings under the leadership of Mr. Kneeland, the Near East director, were found in January occupying an abandoned, half-ruined warehouse at Corfu, sleeping on floors but happy in having found a place of safety.

This transfer of the wards of the Near East Relief was not accomplished without the loss of valuable lives. Several Americans, who were engaged in supervising companies of orphans, were either shot by brigands or killed by exposure.

The immediate problems for the Near East Relief seem almost staggering. At least 9,000 Armenian orphans, now temporarily housed in Greek summer hotels, must be provided with other homes or shelter, and Greece is already overcrowded with a million refugees. Mr. Vickrey sees no solution but the construction, as largely as possible by orphanage labor, of temporary homes and orphanage workshops, on the Island of Syra or in other suitable locations offered by the Greek Government.



PLAYGROUND OF CHILDREN UNDER THE CARE OF THE NEAR EAST RELIEF—THE ANCIENT TEMPLE OF JUPITER, WITH THE ACROPOLIS IN THE BACKGROUND

There are also about 10,000 Armenian orphans from Harpoot, Aintab, Ourfa, Marash and elsewhere in Anatolia, driven southward and now lodged in Syria and Palestine, for many of whom suitable homes or housing are yet to be provided.

There is a much larger number of orphans now satisfactorily housed in the Caucasus, Persia, Mesopotamia, Constantinople and elsewhere, but requiring the daily necessities of life until they can be brought to the age of self-support and trained for industrial or other service.

Moreover, the wholesale tragedies of Smyrna and Thrace have made orphans by the thousand, and the Near East Relief cannot close its doors in the face of these children. Then, there is the great multitude of adult refugees, hundreds of thousands of whom have been driven from their ancestral homes in Asia Minor, and are literally without a country. Greece has a million of her own refugees, and cannot do much for these helpless families from Turkish lands. There are thousands of these refugees around Aleppo and on the border of northern Syria, prevented from moving either backward or forward. These are chiefly women and children.

Yet in spite of all the misery that these populations have been made to suffer, Mr.

Vickrey finds that good may yet come to many of the poor victims. They are at last free from oppression, and have the coöperation of sympathetic governments and organizations. The Near East Relief itself is no longer compelled to pay taxes, customs and import duties on relief supplies. Valuable government buildings, lands, ships and transportation facilities have been given the organization without charge.

Then, too, there are freedom of education for the children, better living conditions, a happier personnel and, as a result of exemption from taxes, a far lower expense of operation.

The greater part of the orphanage work conducted by the Near East Relief is now outside of Asia Minor in Russian Armenia, Northwest Persia, Greece, Syria, Palestine and elsewhere under sympathetic governments. Self-support can now be developed.

The farm relief work done in the Caucasus having proven a great success, Greece promises other land for agricultural development and orphanage training in Macedonia and Western Thrace. The Near East Relief has other plans under way, looking toward the largest possible development of self-support, industrial training, a practical, technical education and economic reconstruction.

French Opinion on the Ruhr Occupation

IT WILL be remembered that M. Poincaré, during his brief retirement, created and used with utmost frankness, as an incisive political critic, the department in the *Revue des deux Mondes* (Paris) known as "Chronicle of the Fortnight." When he was so suddenly recalled to the very storm center of French and world politics, he was succeeded by a sympathetic supporter, who is still regarded as more than any other writer the Prime Minister's spokesman. The unusually long article of February 15th, almost wholly devoted to the Ruhr occupation, is therefore of especial importance. It will be quoted as far as possible here in M. Pinon's own words:

If the German Government had accepted the control, as was its duty, and adopted proper views, the troops could have retired in a few days.

To the German outburst of rage and violence, inspired wholly, we are assured, from Berlin,

France and Belgium have opposed the calmness of their representatives and the *sang-froid* of their soldiers. Let the world compare, and judge! Events have proved that the Germans never meant to keep their engagements. Their statistics were mere mystification. The industrial magnates alone have to their credit in London, Amsterdam and New York banks sixteen million gold francs at least. They, who can always use the government to their own profit, should come to its aid now. . . .

The allied governments can not themselves exploit the mines and mills of the basin. They can stop Germany's supply of coal and turn it westward, control the incoming and outgoing of raw materials and finished products, and so bring pressure on the life and the political policy of Germany. . . .

It is another decisive international battle, on new ground. We shall win this also, by that patience, persistence and spirit of organization that is sometimes denied to us. . . .

The chorus of German and Germanophile papers the world over declares: "The reparations and the defaults alike are for France a mere pretext to hide her thirst for conquest. She wishes to dismember Germany by cutting off the Rhineland and the Ruhr: to destroy her economic, political and military life."

Yet already the tone is changing. The *Frankfurter Zeitung* sets the key-note: "Germany is always ready to carry out the treaty." The Social Democrats of the Reichstag, especially, demand "an understanding with France as the sole hope of European peace" . . . In *Die Glocke*, Herr Kuttner writes: "Why not speak frankly of this effort of one bankrupt people to reestablish its finances by attempting to collect its credits from a country yet more in-

solvent? Let us have the courage to talk of the dependence on each other of French iron and German coke. The French forges must have the one, the German forges the other."

To the demand that France announce her ends, her demands, reply is made by quoting the words of M. Poincaré to the convention of journalists on February 4:

What do we wish? Two things: the reparation for our ruins and freedom from attack hereafter. This peace, in which we do not seek a square centimeter of German territory, we are resolved to establish at last on indestructible foundations.

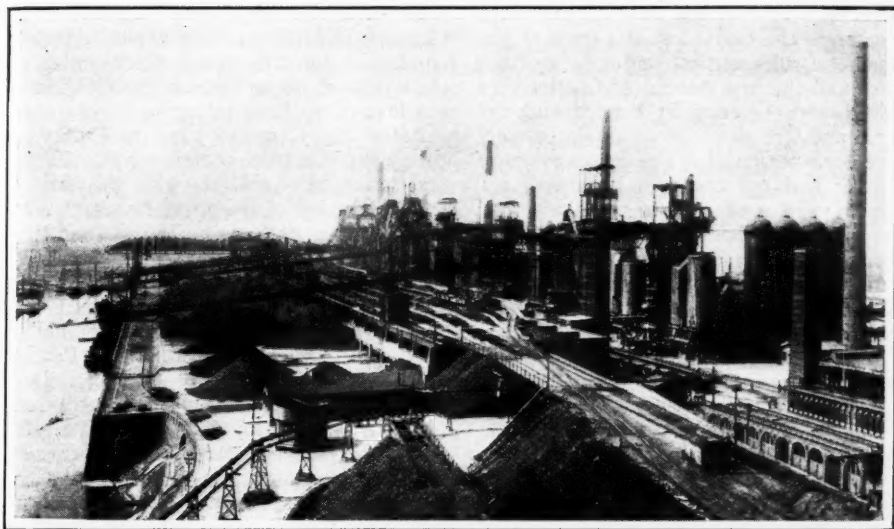
But, of course, that phrasing could be applied to the revival of a Napoleonic Westphalia as an autonomous state, linked most firmly to France by such economic bonds as mutual supplies of iron and coke.

Let us ignore such English papers as the *Daily News*, Germanophile until 1914 and again since 1918. Let us keep our eyes on the great healthy majority of the British nation, bound, indeed, by its political and economic principles to deprecate the action of France, Belgium and Italy, but already in alarm at seeing them take action alone and demanding that England be not left isolated. . . .

Mr. Wickham-Steed asks anxiously in the *Nineteenth Century*: "What will become of the indispensable Anglo-Gallic Entente, if France's action in the Ruhr should bring about an understanding between her and Germany, to which England would not be a party, and might even find it by force of circumstances even directed to some extent against her?" The reply seems to us very simple: England will be entitled to share the benefits only if she shares the risks: we await her. (*Nous l'attendons.*)

The movement in this country for "mediation" is noted, and Senator Borah's "international economic conference" is bracketed therewith. The cause of France was eloquently defended by Senator Reed of Pennsylvania, the only member who fought in France, and who earned the *croix de guerre*. No annoying intervention seems to be feared from us, at least for the present.

The German propaganda has attempted, by improbable inventions, to rouse the humanitarian feelings of the Americans: but, just as in war-time, it has overshot the mark and forced the note. The great mass of American opinion is still unmoved. . . . In America, as everywhere else, the occupation of the Ruhr has had one result: those who sympathized with Germany during the struggle, but became prudently silent since the armistice, are again unmuzzled; but those, more numerous and devoted, who flocked unbidden to the Allies' cause, are now rallying to our standard; for such is the efficacy of action.



VIEW OF THE KRUPP WORKS AT ESSEN, SHOWING THE GREAT COAL DOCKS, NOW OCCUPIED BY THE FRENCH ARMY

The delicate topic of the withdrawal of our troops is avoided; but the continuance of the English garrison, "though they give no active aid, assists by the consent of silence in the presence of aggressive French action."

The occupation of the Ruhr is sure to have far-reaching and permanent consequences. There are innumerable similar incidents in past history; but there are far more that have resulted like the "reluctant and temporary" occupation of Egypt by the

English than like the American excursion to Vera Cruz. And if the short life of Napoleon's Westphalian Kingdom be suggested as a warning, the French may well insist that their predominance in strength and their continental alliances are neither so purely militaristic nor so precarious as four generations ago. M. Pinon's paper does not weaken at all the force of Mr. Simonds' far-reaching, prophetic surmises in the March number of this REVIEW, supplemented by his comments this month.

The German Influence in France in the XVIIIth and XIXth Centuries

THE French influence on Germany in art, politics, law and letters has always been plain. In the Seventeenth Century Germany thought, lived and wrote after the model of the monarchic society of Versailles. M. Louis Reynaud's book on the German influence in France in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries is discussed by Pierre Garotte in the January number of *La Revue Universelle* (Paris).

In the Eighteenth Century the French psyche changed deeply. After Fénelon other modes of expression were pursued

than those of Athens and Rome, and literature became individualistic. In the time of Louis XIV, France was ready to grant to Germany philosophers and learned men of merit, but she had been more reserved in regard to German poets and writers and artists. But when France turned from the classic or typical ideal to the romantic or individualistic school in art and letters, she adopted the mode of thought of the Germanic races and the Germans saw their opportunity and translated all their works into French in the *Journal Etranger* owned by Huber. Then

came the "storm and stress" period in Germany—the exaltation of nature at the expense of rules and conventions. But the lyrics and the first dramas of Goethe were judged with severity in France and the storm and stress movement would scarcely have been perceived if Goethe's *Sorrows of Werther* had not come to France of the Directoire at a time when all minds were prepared to receive this doleful message of disenchantment and revolt.

After the Reign of Terror, melancholy, tears and suicide were in order. Everything contributed to favor the disease of romanticism. Repentant and prostrate at the foot of the Cross, Chateaubriand wished to combat in his *René* the morbid influence of Goethe. He condemned the love of solitude and idle revery. But no matter how conscientious and eloquent the condemnation was, the description of the disease was more seductive and full of plaintive charm. Charles de Villers expounded Kant's philosophy to France, but it remained for Madame de Staël to revenge herself for Napoleon's enmity by retiring to Copet and extolling there in her *Allemagne* a land virtuous, loyal and grave. All France repeated with great meekness the lesson taught her by Madame de Staël. Delacroix and Amy Scheffer painted and lithographed the Rhine and the Margraves which the Tales of Hoffman and Faust had created for her—the Germany of old towers and turrets, sorceresses and ghosts, knights and emperors. Side by side with this

picturesque Germany is the good and grave Germany of Michelet, who taught his pupils admiration for a Germany which unites to the love of all the private and public virtues the love of abstract reflection.

After 1845 Germany came to France in the guise of the torch of humanity in science and philosophy. Heine, who did not respect Germany of the past or present, was treated as a dangerous maniac, and the *Revue des Deux Mondes* denounced him without mercy.

Even the war of 1870 did not drag the French intellectual world from its hallucinations. Under Monod, Liard, de Pecaut and de Sée, the university was reorganized on the German model and Wagner and German mysticism found a receptive ear. Germany had conquered the upper and middle classes and from 1876 to 1900 German collectivism invaded French socialism and labor was delivered into the hands of Social Democracy and Jean Jaurès.

M. Garotte concludes that:

Germany awakened the lyric sentiment, changed the whole trend of our philosophy, and restored to honor the severe methods of erudition and criticism, but beside these services, what harm was done! Taste, measure, courtesy, logic and the love of a clear, well-forged chain of thought—all that is the glory, the pride, and the essential kernel of French genius—were endangered. In the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries Germany imposed on us a poetry, a science and a philosophy alien to our nature and our traditions. But the time of Germanism has passed and it is time to return to the severe and solid Latin powers of reasoning, the origin and supreme guardian of our culture.

"One Man's Profit Another's Loss"

THIS maxim—hardly questioned in antiquity or in medieval days, and even by Montaigne made the title of an essay in which it is accepted and copiously illustrated—is vigorously condemned by M. André Liesse in the very title of his article, where it is stigmatized as a "persistent fallacy." The article, which is the regular leader of *The Economist* (Paris) for February 3rd, is a somewhat rambling but instructive one, with sharp applications to ourselves among others.

It was intended primarily as a defense of French activity in the Ruhr district. M. Poincaré is quoted, approvingly, as declaring that France has no desire to strangle or ruin Germany:

Furthermore, that would not be for our own interest. The sum which Germany is to pay us for reparations, whatever the arrangements we shall impose, will be a very serious one. It is idle to imagine that she can hand it over to us all at once. Indeed, billions upon billions of actual money, of gold, one can hardly imagine actually transported out of one land into another. Only an excess of exports over imports makes possible payments on any such scale. As for the taking over of raw materials, though it is a method that has never been adequately utilized, it is but a limited resource.

So the writer insists that the payments must be made by an active, busy, commercial Germany. But such demonstrable economic truths as this are too complex to be grasped by untrained minds, and seem, even, to run counter to "common sense." In truth, common sense, that is, mere off-

hand rational judgment, is only safe when all the details of the problem in question are firmly grasped and duly evaluated. Often it is little more than an expression of that instinctive conservatism that rejects novel inventions, often in the name of "scientific knowledge." Many natural laws have been stoutly and long denied, merely because not evident and familiar in their action. For that very reason they often operated in the more deadly fashion to the detriment of humanity.

Seneca positively declared that no man could enrich himself save at his neighbor's cost. The ruthless and fatal Roman greed of his day furnished him many apparently sound illustrations: and in Montaigne's day—as alas! even as in our own—the imperialistic greed that sought to destroy all political and commercial rivalry was no less shortsighted than Rome's. Yet, as Mayor of Bordeaux, already a commercial emporium, the latter philosopher might have made, every day, truer observations of the mutual benefit from international trade. But even Jean Jacques Rousseau, living just before Turgot and Adam Smith, proclaimed and confirmed the same heresies.

A most interesting example is the stubborn determination to close or hamper the navigation of the Scheldt, for fear that Antwerp might become a rival of the Dutch ports. This right, formally granted by treaty to the Dutch at the close of the Thirty Years' War, was revived when in 1839 Belgium and Holland dissolved the reluctant union that had been forced on them in 1815. It was so late as 1863 that Holland sold for a large sum the right to

levy oppressive tolls on river-traffic; a sum that was made up not alone by Belgium but by all the nations vitally concerned in freer trade.

The eminent economist and editor concedes that France has clung especially close to this suicidal folly, rigidly limiting the exports of her colonies, for instance, lest they rival the similar home industries. But the prejudices of the hour make the writer name Belgium first, and only "to some extent England," as the countries realizing the full benefits of free international trade.

There certainly are ignorant folk who fail to comprehend the truth, but there are others who are wilfully deaf to it, because their selfish interests are directly opposed to the general welfare. The aim is to secure especial privileges at home, to destroy foreign competition by excessive duties, and so acquire full power to raise prices, at the cost either of direct consumers or of those manufacturers to whom the artificially protected goods are indispensable.

This has a very familiar sound. But in the closing paragraph there is no doubt at all of the application:

At this moment the United States lament because impoverished Europe offers them no adequate outlets for their industries, if the latter be held to the rate of production at which they must be maintained for the economic welfare of their own country. Their eyes are turned to South America and the Far East, which do not produce enough to offer an adequate exchange for the goods they could advantageously purchase. England has her unemployed, and deplores the all but complete disappearance of Russia from the economic world. Those are illustrations to disprove the absurd delusion that would bid us crush the competition of other nations, which creates the wealth that enables the means of exchange to circulate.

"Remarks on the Cinema"

THE title of M. Fred.-Ph. Amiguet's brief paper, in the *Bibliothèque Universelle et Revue Suisse* for December, is exact. It is a scattering fire of suggestive remarks; but it keeps in view, also, a very large esthetic and ethical problem. The new art is a great and permanent acquisition. Immense sums are invested in it. Grievous scandals have gathered about it. But the appeal it makes is a universal one. It should be, then, a great power for good. And to that end, its proper scope, its limitations, its true relation to other arts and to human life should be more clearly worked out.

"In a little seaport theater I saw gathered recently Orientals and Occidentals, Levantines, Englishmen, delegates from all the docks on earth. Yet as they faced the jesting burlesques of the American comedians, or the stale sentimentality of the romantic films, one and all were nothing save simple seafolk, world-mariners." Such a unifying force, working such oblivion to all racial antipathies and strife, is no more to be disdained or ignored, by any of those who hope greatly for eventual peace and good-will on earth, than the Salvation Army, or to seek a more serious comparison, than

the worldwide publicity of utterance by radio.

"The essential domain of the cinema is movement and light," or better, as afterward restated, the material world as revealed by these two supreme forms of dynamic force, to which the perfected use of color will no doubt be eventually added. Its chief misfortune thus far has been its alliance with—indeed, subjection to—the theater, whose actors, plots, methods, it has unwisely borrowed. But "when the cinema forsakes its own realm, and attempts to discuss, to follow out philosophic or social theses, it is but baying at the moon." On the practical side, too, it should be added that the constant interruption of the scenic effects, while the audience is invited to *read* the plot, the conversation, the very key to the picture,—is always a confession of artistic failure, and in a polyglot or unlettered audience became at once impossible.

In the drama the actor is the center, in the cinema he is only a detail, a fragment, one note in the universal symphony. And this because, on the screen, *things* are supremely important. Thus, in "Eldorado," the real star character is not Sibilla, nor Doña Inez, but Toledo, with its porcelain skies, its Moorish decorations, its carved gates, its bronzes worn by ten generations' use.

Even humanity is best seen upon the screen in moving masses: Dalecarlian peasants streaming churchward, a crowded San Francisco saloon of early days, a marching regiment, a busy factory or iron foundry. Man's inventive genius is intimated, still, when an express train rushes across at a mile a minute. "The cinema is swift to interpret, to catch the rhythm of, our civilization"—meaning, of course, the material side, and the dynamic power, of human activities. Lonely Nature is no less within its field: in a series of seconds it can transport us in imagination to the arid banks of the Nile, the forests of the Upper Soudan, the brink of Niagara, the swollen streams of the Amazon.

The master-artist, not destitute of philosophic and moral as well as esthetic ideals, is yet to appear, who shall control and unify these new avenues of appeal to man's soul. Purely imaginative themes, like the "Road of Dreams," and marvelous old tales needing little or no verbal explanation, should come more and more into favor. To the writer the most beautiful of all French films is Dolluc's "Fever," which he describes as a real picture—with a deeper symbolic meaning for those to whom it can be revealed.

The article is at times inconsistent and baffling. The writer returns, as it were, to the dramatic conception, naming with warm praise a long array of "movie actors," with Nazimova at their head. Yet he necessarily dilates only on the appeal *to the eye*, and pantomime is never true drama. "Her mask is an amazing mixture of vulgarity and the finest details. It expresses in turn melancholy, unrest, fiery desire and ecstatic frenzy. When the overhead lighting flashes over that Mongolian and occidental face, Nazimova seems chaste as a nun, or again as perverse as one of Andreef's heroines." This, to be sure, is still a glorification of matter, at least rather of flesh than of soul. But it may suggest, also, what the writer would hardly accept, that the cinema will yet find one, at least, of its chief offices as an adjunct of drama.

The human voice, appealing in intelligible language to the human heart, is still the supreme and most adequate bearer of the Message. The living, moving human body is the most beautiful of all spectacles, though it is true that we have, *as yet*, no invention by which the remotest spectator-auditor can watch the mobile features of a Salvini, a Booth, or an Ellen Terry, as perfectly as he catches the most delicate modulations of the voice. But the architect's noblest conceptions of mass, the sculptor's study of grace in human form, gesture, posture, drapery, the painter's sensitive color-sense—all contribute with due pride to a great dramatic success. Even music, as in grand opera, has but returned to the position she always occupied in every Greek theater. Even so, this new art may be proud to set real storm-clouds sweeping across the mimic skies of the "Tempest" or "Winter's Tale," to bid the forest boughs really wave over Orlando and Rosalind by day, above Hermione and Titania and Bottom, the weaver, by night. A scenario like that of Maeterlinck's "Betrothal" may foreshadow a far more intimate and essential union of perfect illusion in scenic effects with a truly dramatic performance.

Great, then, as is the sensuous appeal of the new art to the dreamy imagination, yet the mind, and, therefore, the soul, of the scholar, the philosopher, the reformer, of "Man Thinking," will doubtless always find its highest inspiration where, as Schiller says:

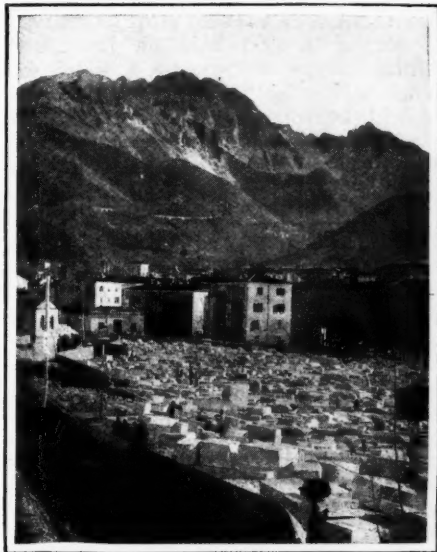
"The world is revealed upon the stage."

The Marble Industry at Carrara

"MARBLE" is a word of broad meaning, since it is applicable to all the crystalline varieties of limestone. On the other hand, the pure white, fine-grained variety known as "statuary marble" is a very definite kind of stone, and is remarkable for the fact that, except in small quantities, it is extremely local in its occurrence. In the history of the marble industry only two places in the Old World have been known to possess large deposits of this material; viz., the island of Paros, one of the Cyclades, and the district of Carrara, in northern Italy. Parian marble was the more famous in antiquity, but is no longer quarried. The marble of Carrara, also known to the ancients, is now used by sculptors all over the world.

A well illustrated account of the Carrara marble industry as it exists to-day is contributed by H. Vignon to *Sciences et Voyages* (Paris). In most places where marble occurs it has, in the course of ages, become extensively split up in the earth and various substances filtering into the cracks have given rise to colored veins which disqualify marble for statuary use. In other cases, enclosed organic matter in the shape of polyps, mollusks, etc., have given marble a spotted appearance. For some unknown reason, says M. Vignon, the marbles of Paros and Carrara remained, for the most part, entirely exempt from these accidents.

The Romans began to quarry the marble of Carrara before the Christian era. It was known as *marmor lunensis*, because it was shipped from the neighboring seaport of Luna, now in ruins. After the downfall of the Roman Empire Carrara marble passed into oblivion. The church-building enterprises of the middle ages led to its rediscovery, and the great revival of the statuary art at the time of the Renaissance created an active demand for this material. This demand has continued to grow to the present day. The annual production is now 143,000 tons of rough blocks, 672,000 tons of sawed blocks, and 153,000 tons of otherwise worked marble. There are about 700 quarries, of which 500, belonging to the town of Carrara, give employment to 6500 men. The other quarries are in neighboring communes, the most important of which is Massa. At Carrara and Massa there are 107 establishments for sawing marble.



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VIEW OF THE FAMOUS MARBLE WORKS AT CARRARA, ITALY

Last, but not least, more than 2000 sculptors have their studios in this district. Michael Angelo once lived and worked here, and his home is one of the historic monuments of the town.

The quarries are in a rugged mountainous region. The blocks of marble are broken out by blasting, a horn being blown one minute before each explosion to warn persons in the vicinity to take shelter. The explosions give rise to numerous landslips, the dazzling white traces of which are seen on the mountainsides and are known by the local name of *ravaneti*. The blocks are lifted by the workmen upon rough wooden sledges under which are placed soaped rollers, and are guided down to the valley by heavy cables attached to posts. At the foot of the slope they are carried away to the port—the Marina di Carrara—partly in ox-carts and partly by the railroad which was opened in 1890. This railroad, fifteen miles in length, was a remarkable piece of mountain railway construction. Cableways are used to some extent in carrying the workmen to and from the more lofty quarries, but are not yet employed to transport the marble. In fact, primitive methods and tools are still the rule at these famous quarries.

Italy's North African Colony

ITALY has experienced great difficulty in gaining a firm hold on her North African colony of Tripolitania, which was ceded to her by Turkey after the Italo-Turkish war of 1911-12, by the treaty of Ouchy. Some important details regarding Italian prospects there at present are given by Corrado Zoli in *Politica* (Rome).

Before the outbreak of the World War Italy had almost established her authority in Tripolitania. Thanks to thirty months of persistent military effort and wise political management, her rule was acknowledged in the greater part of the new province, with the exception of a few scattered centers of obstinate resistance. Indeed, the task had been so quickly and so thoroughly accomplished as to call forth the praise of French colonial officials, whose experience in this quarter of the globe certainly qualified them to express an opinion. However, the important Mohammedan religio-political fraternity of the Senussi were aroused to active revolt by the Italian success, and the Italian Government was indisposed to send the reinforcements needed to stem the movement. This inaction resulted in the evacuation of a great part of the territory, which had embraced the large and important district of the Fezzan, and a withdrawal to the coast towns.

Finally, Italy decided that an energetic effort must be made to regain the lost

ground, and in April, 1915, an expedition under the command of Colonel Miani left the port of Misurata and advanced to attack the rebel camp of Kasr bu Abi. This expedition was composed of 4000 troops and 3500 native auxiliaries, but scarcely had the attack on the rebels begun, when these native auxiliaries took their part, and the Italian troops, caught between two fires, would have been wiped out, had it not been for the gallantry and steadfastness of a rear-guard of but 500 men. The loss of material was especially serious, as it supplied the rebels with what they most needed. It comprised a large number of muskets that had been thrown away by the panic-stricken troops, 500 stand of arms which were being transported as a reserve, several million cartridges, a number of machine guns and six batteries of field artillery, besides the entire provision train and even the money chest.

The indomitable tribes of the Ghibla region now began to be restive and symptoms of disorder developed among the Berbers of the Gebal. Under these conditions the governor of Tripoli considered it necessary to again evacuate the outlying positions, and soon the only parts of western Tripolitania occupied were the seaports of Zuara and Zanzur. Fortunately for the Italians, the Senussi misused their opportunities, and by their oppressive government of the regions now under their control, made the inhabitants feel that their rule was worse than that of the Italians.

The termination of the World War rendered it possible for Italy to make effective preparations to resume her task of reconquest, and in the beginning of last June a strong force of Italian troops and a body of Berber auxiliaries set out from the bases on the coast toward the objective points assigned to them. A counter-offensive made in the direction of Sidi Saih led to a severe and sanguinary engagement, which ended with a victory of the Italians and a decisive defeat of the rebel forces. The summer season now supervened, and it was determined to suspend operations.

At the close of last October it was considered expedient to resume the offensive, in order to regain possession of the Gebel of Yefren, a zone of mixed Berber and Arab population. This operation was accom-



THE ITALIAN POSSESSIONS (IN BLACK) EAST OF TRIPOLI

pished by the combined action of two columns, one marching from Giado toward the east by the mountain ridge, the other proceeding from the zone of Bir Ghnem toward Yefren. The first column encountered and signally defeated the rebel forces, and gained possession of the entire mountainous zone. In November the Garian district was occupied, almost without opposition. In consequence of these energetic operations, the sedentary population of the zones occupied have everywhere hastened to make submission, voluntarily

surrendering their arms, the nomad tribes have proffered submission and profound disorganization reigns in the last centers of rebel resistance.

Cut off from all the seaports and the anchorage places on the coast the rebels are now confined to the eastern part of Tripolitania. Under these conditions the Italian writer believes that the resistance to the effective sovereignty of Italy cannot long be maintained, and that Italy can soon proclaim the completion of her reconquest of Tripolitania.

How Long Shall We Have Enough Land?

WE of America still think of our spacious country as one in which overpopulation is merely a possibility of the remote future. Almost any intelligent American would say offhand that there are vast unimproved tracts of our territory only awaiting the settler to be converted into fertile farms. It is, therefore, startling to find a first-rate authority making such a statement as this: "We have reached the stage in our agricultural development when there is practically no more potential agricultural land left unutilized that does not involve unprofitable expense for reclamation

or clearing." The shock is softened by the further statement that "much of our agricultural land could be cultivated more intensively, however, when higher prices for agricultural commodities justify the increased costs of production."

The authority just quoted is Dr. O. E. Baker, agricultural economist in the U. S. Department of Agriculture, who writes on "Land Utilization in the United States" in the *Geographical Review* (New York). Concerning the relation of our growing population to available agricultural land the writer says:



From the *Geographical Review* (American Geographical Society, New York City)

FARMING HILLY LAND WITH MODERN MACHINERY IN THE PALOUSE DISTRICT OF WASHINGTON STATE

The land area of the United States is limited, and our arable land is still more limited. Because of climatic or topographic conditions, only about 40 per cent. of our land area can ever be used for crops, and most of this arable land is already so used. On the other hand, our population is inherently unlimited and is increasing at the rate of a million and a half a year. During the nineteenth century the population of the United States increased from 5,000,000 to 76,000,000, or fifteen-fold, and during the first twenty years of the twentieth century the increase has been 40 per cent. of the increase during the preceding century. The rate of increase, however, has declined. From the Revolutionary War to the Civil War the increase was at the almost uniform rate of 35 per cent. each decade; from 1870 to 1880 population increased 30 per cent.; from 1880 to 1890, 25 per cent.; from 1890 to 1910, 20 per cent.; and from 1910 to 1920, 15 per cent. Should even this low rate of increase during the past decade, which included the World War and several epidemics of influenza and also six years without immigration, continue, our country would have in about a century a population equal to that of China to-day.

Dr. Baker quotes, however, opinions of demographic experts to the effect that the rate of increase will gradually diminish, so that we are not likely to add more than forty million to our population between 1920 and 1950, and by the year 2000 the population is likely to be from 175 to 185 million. On this basis he proceeds to discuss the question of how we are to provide for the future in the matter of agricultural production. The possible means of increasing farm products include (1) increase through reclamation of land not now available, and which, with the present prices of such products, it would not be profitable to reclaim. By various methods about 300 million acres of additional land could be brought under cultivation. (2) Increase through more intense cultivation. (3) Increase through the use of improved pasture for growing crops. (4) Increase through changes in consumption; *i.e.*, by a change in the national dietary. Under this head the writer says:

The consumption of meat (including lard and poultry) per capita in the United States is now about 170 pounds, whereas in Germany before the war the consumption was about 100 pounds, and in Japan it is only four pounds. The annual per capita consumption of meat in the United States could probably be cut to 50 pounds without injury, if compensated by proportionate increase in use of dairy products and vegetables. Such diet, fully as nutritious as our present partial meat diet, would enable the nation almost to double its population without diminishing its real welfare.

Dr. Baker presents a fund of historical material and various statistics, which lead him to the following conclusions:

Heretofore, the supply of agricultural products in the United States has been increased mainly by extension of the arable area and by improvements in agricultural technique. Hereafter, it appears probable, it will be increased by at least five other methods, *i.e.*, by greater intensity of cultivation, by diminishing waste, by reducing our exports, by increasing our imports, and by gradual shifting from a diet in which meat figures prominently to one largely confined to the cereals, vegetables, and dairy products. The greater intensity of cultivation is already indicated by the increasing proportion of farm land devoted to crops; the increasing proportion of crop land devoted to vegetables, tobacco, and other intensively cultivated crops; and the increasing yield per acre of most of the crops. Diminished waste in transportation and marketing is being attained by refrigerator cars, cold-storage facilities, utilization of by-products, especially in the meat-packing industry, and by orderly marketing. Our net exports of foods have been reduced from about 17 per cent. of our production during the decade 1896-1905 to about 12 per cent. during the five years 1916-1920. For the five years prior to the war the net exports of food products constituted only 5 per cent. of the production.

The most important factor, in my opinion, to be evaluated in considering a national policy of land utilization is that of the competition in our markets of agricultural products from foreign countries, particularly from the tropics. Although there is in Siberia a vast expanse of undeveloped arable land, probably as great in amount as the total arable land of the United States, both improved and unimproved; and although there are considerable areas of fertile land as yet undeveloped in Argentina, Australia, and other countries of temperate climate, nevertheless, the great reservoir of unutilized agricultural resources is to be found in the tropics. Tropical and subtropical countries include approximately half of the arable land, present and potential, of the world. Of the arable land in these countries less than one-fourth (about 1,200,000,000 acres) is in cultivation at present, and possibly one-eighth is used for pasture; whereas in the temperate zones fully one-half of the ultimately arable land is now in crops, and almost another third is used for pasture. Apparently the tropics and subtropics include about three times as large an area of potentially arable land as that which remains undeveloped in the temperate zones.

In conclusion it appears appropriate to note that, although the land resources of the United States make it possible to feed and clothe 400,000,000 people in a manner that will not seriously impair their health and activity, it will probably require a larger proportion of the national effort to do so than is required at present, and there will be less of other commodities, especially the luxuries available per individual for consumption. The production per capita of agricultural products apparently reached its crest about 1906-07 and is now diminishing. The production per capita of manufactured products is probably still increasing; but, as manufacturing is dependent largely for its raw materials upon agriculture and forestry, manufactured products must soon show also a diminishing production per capita unless there be extensive importation of food and raw materials from abroad. In other words, our nation is probably near, possibly past, the crest of greatest average income per capita; and every increment in population is likely to increase the complaint of the high cost of living.

New Studies of the Intelligence of Insects

THE interest which has always attached to the amazing activities of insects, since the days when Solomon so pointedly advised the sluggard to visit the ant for purposes of instruction and edification, has received a tremendous stimulus among the public of late years as a result of the fascinating works of the late J. H. Fabre. Among the most entertaining observations lately reported are those of Mr. J. S. Szymanski, in the *Biologische Centralblatt*, an abstract of which appears in a late number of *Naturwiss. Umschau* (Berlin). This naturalist has sought to obtain light on the degree of intelligence of insects by comparing the procedure followed in the quest for food by a bumble bee, a bird (nut-hatch), and a small child. His special problem was a comparison of the manner in which these three individuals made use of a spiral line as the shortest path to obtain their desires. We read:

The bumble bees were observed when visiting grape-like clusters of flowers. When the insect desired to gather the nectar from each flower it was obliged (in order to employ the shortest road) to pursue a spiral path in passing from one blossom to another. Several hundred observations in the open air proved that as a matter of fact the bees employ this principle as a means of achieving the shortest path; they begin at the bottom and travel along a spiral path, similar to the thread of a screw, upwards until they reach the last blossom, and repeat the process upon the next plant. When the

blossoms are too closely pressed together it is true that the spiral is somewhat confused, but it can be seen plainly enough that an effort has been made to travel from the bottom towards the top and to omit no single blossom.

The procedure of the bird in question is very different. Its problem is to seek the small insects which find harbor upon the trunk of a tree. A man confronted with such a problem would proceed to search along a spiral path around the cylindrical body in order to thoroughly investigate each section of the stem of the tree. The bird, however, fluttered about the tree with apparently an entire lack of any definite plan and usually investigated only one side of the tree. Obviously this bird has no economic system in its search for food.

It is quite surprising to learn that five-year-old children faced with a similar problem were much less systematic than the bee, though, on the other hand, not so scatter-witted as the bird. The children were required to put nails into holes pierced in a cardboard cylinder along the path of the spiral line; they were told not to miss any hole and not to put two nails into any one aperture.

They began the task at any hole chosen at random and followed the spiral line in the next following holes. Three-year-old children were quite unable to solve the problem, while adults pursued the practice of the bee, by beginning at the bottom (or at the top) and then following the spiral line in the regular order of the holes. These observations show that the instinctive procedure of the bumble bee closely resembles the intelligent action of an adult human being, whereas the operation of the bird does not remotely resemble either one.

Dangers from Antiseptics Used for Food Preservation

MANY and various are the methods by which man attempts to preserve food from the abundant times of harvest to be used in the lean and empty times of winter. In spite of all that has been written on the subject, it is literally of perennial interest. It is now a hundred years since the birth of the great French chemist, Pasteur, upon whose brilliant researches so much of our modern practice is founded. But even now efforts at improvement are constantly being made. Pasteur has taught us that the disintegration of organic substances is largely due to the activity of various germs and ferments. Absolute asepsis is of course the ideal method of preserving food, but this is

generally impracticable on a large scale. Hence antiseptics have been resorted to in many instances. This matter is discussed by M. F. Bordas, in the *Bulletin de la Société de Chimie Indust.* We quote from an abstract of this article appearing in a late number of *Revue Scientifique*. The author discusses the disadvantages of the use of antiseptics under two heads—the practical and the moral. He writes:

In the first case there is a tendency to make use of the antiseptic which is most energetic and of which, therefore, the smallest amount is effective; here the manufacturer loses sight of the fact that such an effect is not to be obtained without grave danger to the consumer. In the second place even assuming the use of an antiseptic capable of

preserving the food, the danger lies in the fact that the antiseptic may permit negligence with respect to the original good condition of the food. Thus we find that there are numerous cases of more or less serious poisoning which can be traced to preserved food.

All congresses of hygiene, of general medicine, of dairymen, and so forth, have passed resolutions protesting against the use of antiseptics in foods . . . but this has not prevented various governments under the pretext of commercial liberty from authorizing the employment of various antiseptics merely on condition that the package makes mention of the nature and amount of the preservative. It is to be hoped that these practices represent a final expiring effort to retain antiseptics in food materials.

The author urges the necessity of guarantees for all sorts of preserved foods, both

from the point of view of public health and of commercial probity. He continues:

Alimentary products, which have been preserved either through sterilization by heat, by freezing or chilling, may have been manufactured for a very long time without this being known to the buyer or consumer. It is important, therefore, that the date of the manufacture should be legibly inscribed upon the package, *no matter what the process of conservation employed*, as is already done for certain fish products.

In the case of products contained in tin the problem offers no difficulty; but the same information should be furnished to the buyer of frozen or refrigerated products, such as meat, butter, etc., which should bear upon their wrappings special marks indicating the date of their origin and the various cold-storage warehouses where they have been kept.

Micro-Organisms that Prey on Others of Their Kind

WE are familiar with the natural law that most forms of life derive their sustenance from other forms of life. While the majority of animals, perhaps, are fed by plant life, there are many classes in the animal kingdom which prey upon their like—mammals upon mammals, fishes upon fishes, crustaceans upon other crustaceans, and so forth. To quote Tennyson, we find "Nature, red in tooth and claw." But it is startling to learn that recent investigations indicate that this law holds good in the world of micro-organisms.

Some months ago, Dr. F. d'Herelle made a report to the French Academy of Sciences in which he related the results of extensive research according to which the intestines of mammals contain certain ultra-microscopic organisms which prey upon the bacteria which cause various intestinal diseases, such as dysentery. Apparently, the more minute organism destroys the other by dissolving it.

Continuing his researches, which have roused much discussion among European physiologists and physicians, he reports still further success, making the definite statement that he has isolated certain organisms which destroy the bacteria which are responsible for two non-intestinal diseases, whose ravages are much dreaded in the Far East. One of these is the well-known Oriental plague, while the other is an epidemic which attacks the useful domestic animal, the East Indian buffalo, and which is known as *barbone*.

The destructive germs perform their office by generating a very powerful antitoxin. Dr. d'Herelle finds that they are present, not only in the blood of convalescents, but in that of animals or persons which have undergone exposure to the disease in question, but have not succumbed to infection.

An interesting circumstance is that these "friendly" germs are not present in quantities except during an epidemic of the given malady. It is a well-known fact that rats are carriers of the bubonic plague and, indeed, this country has been protected from a visitation by that terrible evil through the enforcement of strict quarantine against ships from the afflicted regions, and the destruction by cyanide or other means of the vermin carried by the said ships from one port to another.

It is reassuring to learn that Dr. d'Herelle has already turned his researches to account in the important field of preventive medicine: in the case of *barbone* he has succeeded in collecting the anti-bacterial substance produced by the microbes and has injected this into buffalos, thereby enabling them to resist the infection.

The importance of the subject in the view of bacteriologists is indicated by the circumstance that articles dealing with it have appeared not only in the *Comptes Rendus* of the French Academy of Sciences, but also in *La Nature*, in *La Rousse Mensuel Illustrée*, and in certain German publications.

Our Friends, the Snakes

IN THE interesting new monthly journal of the American Nature Association, the *Nature Magazine* (Washington, D. C.), Mr. Gayne T. K. Norton tells us that snakes, take them by and large, are far indeed from deserving the bad reputation that they have borne ever since the days of Eden. The one impulse aroused in most people's minds by the sight of a snake is to get a club and kill it. Perhaps, says the writer, this is justifiable in the case of the venomous species, of which there are seventeen in the United States, though even these do much more good than harm. Among them are the moccasins, of two species, the copperhead of the East, the water moccasin of the Southeast, two coral snakes, and the widespread rattlesnake. Of these more or less dangerous species the writer says:

There are two coral snakes, the common variety of the southeast and the Sonoran variety of the southwest. Both are vividly ringed with scarlet, yellow and black—the red and black rings the broadest. Several harmless snakes mimic these dangerous little reptiles, but on the coral snakes, the yellow rings always border the black rings, while the mimics have pairs of black rings bordering a yellow ring. These snakes are of secretive habits; their heads are not distinct from the body.

Finally, there are in the southwest three mildly poisonous snakes: the Jewsharp snake, light gray with deep brown blotches, the annulated snake, yellowish with black blotches, and the black-banded snake, pale brown with a black band on the back and each side. All are moderate in size and slender. The grooved fangs in the rear of the upper jaws in connection with the miniature poison apparatus, can produce wounds marked by local symptoms, but such injuries could not be classed as dangerous to man.

Kill them if you will, but remember they do not deliberately attack men; they cannot leap from the ground; they do eat rats, mice and other rodents. Indeed, in Arizona, the center of the chief rattlesnake inhabited area of the world, not the danger, but the value of poisonous snakes is stressed. Prejudice and misinformation have built mountains—the danger from poisonous snakes is very largely potential. Years pass without a single death being reported as caused by snake bite.

But here is the other side of the picture:

Many snakes are among man's best friends. They prey upon the enemies of his forests and his crops. In our fields and forests millions of little rodents are gnawing. Meadow, pine and white-footed mice, kangaroo rats, pocket gophers and rabbits are some of the worst marauders, knowing no closed season for their destructive labors. They are nocturnal and subterranean in habits, prolific in reproduction, and thrive in forest or field alike. They eat bark, leaves and seeds; they

girdle stems and gnaw roots of seedling, sapling, pole and veteran tree; with dirt taken from their burrows, they build mounds which prevent germination and stifle growth. They dig holes that surface water turns into deep denuded gullies. Their attack is not partial—buckthorn, bush, honeysuckle, dogwood, beech, larch, sassafras, alder, ash, oak, cottonwood, willow and wild cherry, are a few of the tree growths that suffer. Seedbed of nurserymen and foresters; greenhouse, hotbed, and orchard are equally attacked. The forest and crop loss caused by the 750 kinds of rodents in this country is reckoned in hundreds of millions of dollars each year.

In cultivated areas rodents may be destroyed by poisoning, irrigation, winter flooding, burning over of breeding places, destruction of winter cover, and trapping. Trees may be protected by removing mulch and trash from about the stems and banking with cinder mounds, by the use of wood or wire protective cylinders, or by painting with fresh animal blood or a mixture of lime, soap, carbolic acid and sulphur. But even when and where such laborious and costly work is done, damage is not wholly prevented. In Ohio, loss and injury by rodents to newly set apple, pear and plum orchards has been figured at one dollar per acre per year—an astounding loss of over \$200,000. In the Arnold arboretum, near Boston, rodents destroyed literally thousands of trees in a few months.

True, there are many birds and some large mammals that habitually prey upon rodents, but all of these creatures of the feathery and furry tribes have been so recklessly slaughtered by mankind that the snakes seem destined to become "Nature's last line of defense" in this battle for the life of the trees.

It is admitted that snakes destroy birds and birds' eggs.

It is generally agreed, however, that such activities are of little moment beside the beneficial services rendered. Snakes, experiments show, prefer mammals to birds. When mammals are procurable, they will not molest birds.

Of the harmless snakes some forty species should be unmolested. These are the racers, including gopher, black and coachwhip snakes and the blue racer; the flat-nosed snakes; the green snakes; the rat snakes, including the corn and pilot black snakes; the pine, bull and king snakes.

One fair sized snake is worth a dozen rodent traps. Snakes prowl in rodent burrows. One hungry snake will destroy a litter of young rabbits, six to eight mice or two to four rats at a meal. How many trees is a snake worth? An interesting question to ponder. Suppose a mouse accounted for ten trees a year by girdling and eating seeds and roots. One snake would eat, from April to October, 144 mice, so saving 1,440 trees and seeds.

It is worth our while to have the snakes on the job. All we have to do to reap the benefit of the trees and crops they save, is to save ourselves the labor of killing them.

News from Nature's World

Early Arrivals in Birdland

MOST of the spring procession of migratory birds arrive in the Central and Northeastern States by the first weeks of April, and will have begun to announce themselves unmistakably (to a trained ear) by the end of the month. There is no better time to cultivate their acquaintance, because many of them are then in their best voice, and are not more or less hidden by the foliage, as they will be a few weeks later. To present definitely the several hundred species as they arrive, would be far beyond the possibilities of this little department, but we can, at least, barely mention a few of the more conspicuous species, who will have begun to make themselves known, to the eye and to the ear.

April is likely to be signalized by the appearance in our city parks (and wherever there is shrubbery) of that sweet-voiced, timorous little minstrel, the white-throated sparrow, who seems, to the Yankee, to be repeating the name "Pea-bod-y" (whence his name of "Peabody bird"), while to our romantic Canadian cousins he laments, "Ah, sweet Canada, Canada, Canada!"—always with a downward inflection. Much more gushing and voluble is the handsome fox sparrow—who has the distinction of scratching (on the ground) with *both feet at once*. The dainty little kinglets ("Hop-o'-My-Thumb" birds, as Mr. Burroughs called them,) are the smallest of all our feathered friends excepting the hummers, and are barely four inches long. But the ruby-crowned has an elaborate and persistent little song, and he has come a long journey to sing it.

The busy little brown creeper (who is a true warbler, according to the ornithologists), clings closely to the side of the tree trunk, which he always ascends from near the base, in spirals. He is always very busy and preoccupied. Another tiny and lively sprite is the blue-gray gnat-catcher who, it has been remarked, looks like a miniature edition of a mockingbird, and has a song which is a subdued echo of a catbird. The monotonous little chipping sparrow, with his chestnut-colored skull-cap will be here,—perhaps to hang himself on one of the horse-hairs he usually weaves into his nest. And the beautiful little warblers

(some fifty of them) will begin to appear toward the end of April.

A Stately Leader

One of the first of the birds to arrive from the Southland—and the most dignified in his demeanor—is the common purple grackle, or "blackbird," as he is usually termed, by people who don't use their eyes. Because he really *isn't* "black"—far from it. Indeed, the most disquieting feature about his personal appearance, are his glaring, cat-like, *yellow* eyes, which with his creeping manners give him a distinctly *feline* appearance. In his boyhood, the present writer noticed these peculiarities, and the fact that the robins were constantly mobbing the grackles for no apparent reason, and he used to wonder if they were nest-robbers—which they have since proved to be, though they may sometimes be mistaken for crows.

But there is no doubt that the grackle *walks*. American-like, most small birds run or hop; and are in a hurry about it. But there is no doubt about the grackle's deliberate and dignified stride; he is in no such insane haste as are most humans. And a few of his kind are of the same mood, for example the dainty little oven-bird, and the water-thrushes and a few more. But the robin always goes at a break-neck trot. He is Americanized.

The Great Trumpeters

Probably no single feature in Mother Nature's great spring pageant gets so much attention from mere mortals, as the migratory flights of the wild geese. . . . In quiet streets of the great city, men suddenly pause and gaze upward. They have heard the clarion of the advancing hosts, and hope to see them, far aloft. Commuters hurry to the other end of the platform, to catch a glimpse of the retreating pageant, as it sweeps northward. Men turn away, looking thoughtful. Perhaps a perfect expression of their thoughts is to be found in the little book, "Roof and Meadow," by Dallas Lore Sharp (upon whom the Mantle of Elijah—John Burroughs—may have fallen):

The question, the mystery in that "certain flight" I have never felt so vividly as from my roof. Here I have often heard the reed-birds and the water-fowl passing. Sometimes I have heard

them going over in the dark. One night I remember particularly, the sky and the air were so clear and the geese so high in the blue.

Over the fields and wide silent marshes such passing is strange enough. But here I stood above a sleeping city of men, and far above me, so far I could only hear them, holding their way through the starlit sky, they passed—whither? and how guided? Was the shining dome of the State House a beacon? Did they mark the light at Marblehead?

Homes for Spring Birds

During March and April most of the Spring migratory birds, who have passed their winters in the South, will have returned to the temperate and cooler zones, and about the first thought many of them will have will be of their homes and their forth-coming families. As everybody knows, they are useful and beautiful creatures, and what is more, many of them are eager to build in our trees and about our homes. Some of them (like the house wren, for example) will build in almost any kind of refuge, like an old shoe or a tin can, but even these seem to appreciate a good home, and it is for these especially that the Biological Survey (of the U. S. Department of Agriculture) has planned recently a special Bulletin (No. 600), which contains accurate drawings and descriptions of various kinds of bird houses, suitable for different species and different locations. This pamphlet is called "Bird Houses and How To Build Them." It is by Ned Dearborn, an assistant biologist of the Survey; and will be sent gladly and gratis to any address, by the Survey. It is a humane as well as a sensible impulse, thus to befriend and assist the birds. There is no doubt that they are enormously helpful to us in ridding our trees and bushes and flower gardens of their often destructive insect visitors.

A Savage Spring Visitor

During the early spring months, the Northern States, and regions as far south as the West Indies and Panama, are likely to be visited by the swift and fearless duck hawk—the "noble Peregrine" of ancient falconry. For the famous bird of the old "hawking" days closely resembles the American bird, the only difference between the two being the unmarked breast of most of the latter species, while that of the peregrine is marked with blackish brown. In the American duck hawk, the prevailing color of the adult male, on the upper parts (as far as the shoulders) is mottled

gray, with a laterally barred tail. The slightly smaller female is brownish above, with a yellowish breast, thickly and plainly marked. Both sexes show heavy markings depending from the eyes. Unlike most common hawks, the duck hawk's wing-stroke is usually very rapid, so that the male bird strongly resembles the common pigeon, though the quick wing-beats, and the hurried movements are not likely to be overlooked by anyone accustomed to observe birds. Normally, the predacious and savage ruffian of the bird world preys freely upon any small birds, from the size of sparrows, up to flickers, all of whom know him well, and are in mortal fear of him. In the cities he attacks and eats the pigeons, and in New York is often seen dashing about among the upper floors of the skyscrapers, hunting sparrows and pigeons. A few years ago, a daring photographer crept along a ledge, near the top of the towering municipal building in the metropolis, and got a good photograph of a duck hawk sitting on the edge of a coping only a few yards away, but several hundred feet above the street. The duck hawk's attack is peculiarly sudden and vicious, and usually successful. He circles until he is above his victim, from which point he drops like a plummet, and delivers a blow upon his prey's back, with his partly clenched talons. That single blow usually causes almost instant death, and the assassin will return to pick up his victim at his leisure.

The Beautiful Arbutus

About the loveliest of the spring blossoms appears this month—or a little later—the trailing arbutus. As the poets have about exhausted their stock of adjectives upon this pink beauty and her habits, it might be well to examine a few of the interesting scientific facts about her, known to the botanist. In the first place, as Mrs. Dana says: "We look for these flowers in April (or late March)—not beneath the snow [though the present writer has so found them], where tradition rashly locates them, but under the dead leaves of last year; and especially among the pines and in light sandy soil."

It seems idle to expostulate with the persons who tear up yards of this vine for a few of the lovely waxen blossoms. Very likely they are of the same class with those persons, who come tearing back to the cities in their motor cars loaded with handfuls of beautiful dogwood branches.

THE NEW BOOKS

The Story of Uncle Sam's First Budget

The First Year of the Budget of the United States. By Charles G. Dawes. Harper. 437 pp.

Our first Director of the Budget under President Harding was original and unconventional in the methods that he adopted for impressing the imaginations and winning the active coöperation of department heads and bureau chiefs at Washington. Moreover, those methods, because they were so original and unconventional, appealed powerfully to the country at large. Business men everywhere read with the keenest interest about the work that General Dawes had undertaken, and the newspaper report of one of his business organization meetings was always a front-page feature. Who does not remember the amusement that followed the discovery by General Dawes that the Navy was willing to pay cash for 18,000 brooms, rather than take as a gift 350,000 of a slightly different type of broom which the War Department was eager to dispose of? That illustration had a telling effect, for it showed most vividly what might be accomplished by coördinating agents, serving all the Government departments. As a matter of fact, those agents under General Dawes did save the Government, directly and indirectly, about \$100,000,000 within five months. Such facts and many like them are related by the former Director of the Budget in his new book, "The

First Year of the Budget of the United States." If General Dawes was direct and forceful and careless of convention in his activities as a public official, the same qualities persist in the manner of presenting his case in cold type. He has, to a great extent, followed the form of presentation that he adopted in his "Journal of the War." From day to day, after he had taken office at Washington in July, 1921, General Dawes made notes of the progress of his work and the development of his plans. He now publishes these contemporaneous notes, in conjunction with official orders and statements, and thus is able to give a remarkably clear picture of the means that he employed to put the United States Government on a business basis. For it must be understood that his task involved not only the institution of the budget system of expenditure, but at the same time the coördination of the different Government departments as regarded their expenditures. In dealing with examples of gross inefficiency at Washington, General Dawes never minces words. At the same time, a piece of honest and effective work by a Government employee is sure to win his praise, and in assigning credit to his colleagues and helpers in the Bureau of the Budget, General Dawes is most generous. He has written for business men a book concerning the biggest business in the world—that of the United States Government

Present and Past of Modern Nations

Human Australasia. By Charles Franklin Thwing. Macmillan. 270 pp.

Aside from what they have read in newspapers and magazines about the labor laws and the strength of the labor unions of Australia and New Zealand, Americans usually have a very incomplete knowledge of social conditions in the Antipodes. A people having a common ancestry with the original British stock of our own country and working out their destiny in a new land in ways very like those which we ourselves, as a nation, have employed, should be better known to Americans of this generation. Dr. Thwing has done a real service, both to Australasia and to America, by writing this frank, thoughtful and judicious estimate of our contemporaries on the Southern Island Continent. It would be hard to name any living American better equipped to write such a book. One is continually reminded of the method so successfully followed by Lord Bryce in "The American Commonwealth," to whose memory Dr. Thwing's book is dedicated. Like Bryce, Dr. Thwing is always kindly and generous in his comments, but always insists upon going below the surface of things. On the subject of education, our author is perhaps more at home than elsewhere. For nearly half a century he has been

entitled to the rank of expert, especially in the field of higher education. The author of more than twenty books on college subjects, and himself for more than thirty years president of an American university, Dr. Thwing was peculiarly equipped for the task of analyzing the educational systems of Australia and New Zealand. He has done this thoroughly and impartially. Pursuing the Bryce method of coming in personal contact with as many as possible of the leaders in government circles and in the fields of education, literature and labor, Dr. Thwing gathered a multitude of highly interesting and important facts about the people whom he was studying. He was enthusiastic in this quest, and he characterizes Australasia as "the newest, the most interesting, the most quickening to reflection, and apparently the final outpost of Anglo-Saxon civilization."

If Britain Is to Live. By Norman Angell. G. P. Putnam's Sons. 175 pp.

One may or may not agree with Mr. Norman Angell's economic assumptions, but as to the wisdom of his main contention—that international violence must give way to some different method of deciding international disputes, the course of history

since the Armistice offers a striking illustration. Mr. Angell's new book was written for the British public without thought of American publication. American readers will find in it, however, an impressive statement of the argument against national isolation. While the author does not appeal directly to America, he offers facts which sooner or later must be taken into account by America in reaching her own decisions as to national action.

The Evolution of Hungary and Its Place in European History. By Count Paul Teleki. Macmillan. 312 pp. With maps and charts.

This is one of the valuable series of the Williams-town Institute of Politics publications. Count Teleki, the former Prime Minister of Hungary, is now Professor of Geography at the University of Budapest. It is in every way appropriate that this outline of Hungary's history should be presented to the American public from the standpoint of a geographer, for the geographical aspects of the subject are only imperfectly understood by most Americans. Yet a knowledge of them is essential to any adequate comprehension of Hungary's place in history. The author gives much attention to the racial question in Hungary, as well as the political evolution of the country. He describes the economic situation in East Central Europe after the Great War, and brings his account well up to date. In Count Teleki's opinion, Austria's re-colonization of Hungary with non-Magyar people, after the depopulation caused by the Turkish conquest in the Sixteenth Century, contributed much to the fate of his country in the Twentieth Century.

Modern and Contemporary European Civilization. By Harry Grant Plum and Gilbert Giddings Benjamin. In Collaboration with Bessie L. Pierce. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company. 413 pp.

A book prepared in response to the general demand for a text-book of Nineteenth Century history that should bear a direct relation to the Great War and its outcome. The authors have sought to embody in their treatment a discussion of those factors to which President Harding made allusion in his recent letter to President Sills, of Bowdoin College. The book begins with an account of the Treaty of Versailles, then reverts to the failure of European

diplomacy, and discusses in succession "The Near Eastern Question," "Nationality and Democracy," "Commerce and the World War," "The State and Industrial Democracy" and "The United States and the War."

What Civilization Owes to Italy. By James J. Walsh. Boston: The Stratford Company. 432 pp.

In this scholarly work Dr. Walsh takes up in succession the arts, education, scholarship, literature, science, law and medicine, showing what Italy's contribution has been in each of these fields.

The Turkish Empire: From 1288 to 1914. By Lord Eversley. And from 1914 to 1922. By Sir Valentine Chirol. Dodd, Mead and Company. 456 pp. Ill.

This new edition of Lord Eversley's scholarly and important history has six additional chapters relating the momentous events of the Great War, as related to the fortunes of the Turkish Empire—the Turkish-German alliance, the expulsion of the Turks from all their provinces in Asia except Anatolia, the Armistice of 1918, the intervention of Greece in Asia Minor, and the Treaty of Sèvres of 1920, the revival of Turkish national pride and military efficiency, the defeat of the Greek Army and the flight or expulsion of the Greek population. Still later developments of great significance have been the concessions to the Turks in regard to Constantinople, the restoration of Eastern Thrace to their rule, the deposition of the reigning Sultan, and the exclusion from succession to temporal power of the descendants of Othman.

The Making of Modern Japan. By J. H. Gubins. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co. 316 pp.

This book contains an account of the progress of Japan from pre-feudal days to the adoption of constitutional government, and Japan's rise to the position of a great power. The author, who has served as Japanese secretary of the British Embassy at Tokio and has written several works on Japanese topics, includes in the present volume chapters on religion, the complex family system of the Japanese, education and militarism.

Sociology and Economics

Our Neighbors. By Annie Marion MacLean. Macmillan. 288 pp.

Sketches of life, written out of Miss MacLean's own experience and observation among American workers' families, new immigrants, and negroes. The stories are told with sympathy and feeling.

The Immigrant's Day in Court. By Kate Holland Claghorn. Harper & Brothers. 546 pp.

Miss Claghorn is instructor in social research at the New York School of Social Work. For the data

used in this volume she went to cities and towns in the Eastern and Middle Western States, where there is a large foreign population. Selecting cases that seemed typical, Miss Claghorn followed the immigrant from the port of entry through troubles that required the intervention of the law, to see how the law helped him, what was done to adjust him to our laws and what were his reactions in the way of friendliness or distrust. Miss Claghorn wishes to stimulate her readers' interest in helping the immigrant to understand and then to obey the laws of his adopted country.

The Family and Its Members. By Anna Garlin Spencer. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company. 322 pp.

Mrs. Spencer, who is now a special lecturer in social science in Teachers' College, Columbia University, is the author of "Woman's Share in Social Culture" and has given many years of study to this and kindred subjects. In her discussion of the family as an institution she suggests that ideals and customs which are of fundamental value must be modified in order to suit the demands of the new day. They must be changed to harmonize with more democratic and socially effective homes. The author's aims are altogether practical and definite. She wishes to meet the needs of students in colleges and universities, of study groups in women's clubs, of consumers' leagues, of leagues of women voters and of church classes. She supplies excellent lists of books for supplementary reading.

A Critical Analysis of Industrial Pension Systems. By Luther Conant. Macmillan. 262 pp.

This book is based on information gathered in the course of an investigation for a particular industrial concern—the Bemis Brothers' Bag Company. The conclusions reached are rather unfavorable to the practical usefulness of the private industrial pension systems now in force. The author considers the practice of regarding pension systems as a form of gratuity distinctly unfortunate. As a substitute, he describes a system of cumulative paid-up annuities, and suggests that employers would find it

worth while to examine closely into the merits of such a system.

Labor and Politics. By Mollie Ray Carroll. Houghton Mifflin Company. 206 pp.

Much has been written and printed for and against the attitude of the American Federation of Labor toward legislation and politics. The Federation, as is well known, has long been committed to a policy of non-partisan political action. The author of the present volume, who is Professor of Economics and Sociology at Goucher College, Baltimore, indicates the reasons for the Federation's decision to follow this policy, together with some of the implications and consequences. This is one of the Hart, Schaffner & Marx prize essays in economics.

The Twelve-Hour Shift in Industry. By The Committee on Work-Periods in Continuous Industry of the Federated American Engineering Societies. With a foreword by Warren G. Harding. E. P. Dutton & Company. 302 pp.

In 1920 the Federated American Engineering Societies began an organized study of the twelve-hour shift in continuous industry. The body of information that they acquired in the various industries, together with their conclusions, is presented in this volume. Their summary of the evidence points to the overwhelming advantages of the eight-hour over the twelve-hour shift. In a foreword, President Harding announces his conviction that the change can be achieved without either economic or financial disturbance.

Reference

Who's Who, 1923. Macmillan. 3037 pp.

The British "Who's Who" is an annual publication and has now reached its seventy-fifth year of issue. Its features as a biographical dictionary are familiar to many American readers through the wide circulation and general use of "Who's Who in America." It contains a few thousand more sketches than its American namesake, but does not pretend to confine itself to British subjects, as the American work is confined to American subjects. The methods pursued by the management are essentially the same. Each sketch is a mere outline of facts, and no eulogy is permitted.

Training for the Business of Advertising. By Charles Wilson Hoyt. Woolson & Co. 125 pp.

Mr. Hoyt is the head of an important advertising agency, and from his experience as sales and advertising manager is fully qualified to give truthful and enlightening answers to all such questions as are asked by young men and women who are thinking of going into advertising as a life work. In this little book Mr. Hoyt summarizes the present situation in the advertising field as he sees it. His suggestions are helpful and to the point. Much unusual and out-of-the-way information is contained in his book. It would be difficult, for instance, for the novice to find easily anywhere else a list of national adver-

tisers with the names of their managers, or a statement of the advertising business done by leading magazines for 1919, 1920, and 1921.

Roget's International Thesaurus of English Words and Phrases. By O. Sylvester Mawson. Thomas Y. Crowell Company. 741 pp.

This book of synonyms and antonyms has so long been a standard work here and in England that a detailed description of it is hardly needed. It should be said, however, that this new edition is greatly enlarged and printed from new plates. It is based on the work of the English physician, scholar and writer, Peter Mark Roget, who lived from 1779 to 1869. During his own lifetime his book went through numerous editions.

Hoyt's New Cyclopedia of Practical Quotations. Completely Revised and Greatly Enlarged by Kate Louise Roberts. Funk & Wagnalls. 1343 pp.

This revision is a great enlargement of the original "Cyclopedia of Practical Quotations." It now contains no less than 21,000 quotations from 3000 authors. These are drawn from the speech and literature of all nations, ancient and modern, in English and foreign text. The scheme of arrangement, well tested by use during the past thirty years, has been retained.